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Selections.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SENTIMENT OF ENGLAND.

VOICES OF BRITISH WORKINGMEN.

From The London Daily News, Jan. 2.

IT does not properly belong to any one or two classes of the community to maintain the honor and character of the British nation in the eyes of the world. But there is no class which may not aspire to do so when others make default. This duty the working-classes of our great towns are now performing in a particular direction, to the advantage of the entire country. To them has fallen, as it has fallen to no other class, the task of asserting, in respect of this American struggle, England's old attachment to the principles of freedom, and its undying hatred to oppression in every form. So our governing classes have willed it, and so it is. It was for them to judge whether they could sincerely hold the ancient language of Englishmen and to take their part. They have accounted themselves unworthy to do so; but the work is not the less done.

Two years ago, when the hearts of men were but little tried, the charity which believeth all things would have said unhesitatingly that the heart of the country was as sound as ever on the subject of slavery. Now, whatever we might wish to think, we are not permitted to believe so. One by one the reserves and disguises of decency have been thrown off. At first sympathy with the Slave Oligarchy was like "the tawny lion, pawing to get free his hinder parts"; now the beast has "broke from bounds, and, rampant, shakes his brinded mane." The courage and fortitude with which the slaveholding caste has upheld the grandest iniquity of the modern world could never have dazzled men whose principles had not been undermined and sentiments corrupted previously. The brutal mob may admire the pirate who "dies game," but we are not fascinated by material virtues displayed in defence of causes which we detest as morally bad. At first the admirers of the South thought it politic to declare their conviction that the triumph of their friends would prove the death of slavery. We forget whether it was two or three days afterwards that this declaration was formally withdrawn. Since then a vague and general repudiation of slavery, accompanied with unbounded eulogy of slaveholders and energetic vituperation of Abolitionists has been held to satisfy the requirements of opinion. Even this formality is now laid aside as unnecessary or useless, and the latest profession which our betters deign to gasp out as their New Year's gift to the world is, "We are not enthusiastic just now for the oppressed or the negro."

Such being the conspicuous result to which the leisured and refined classes have worked their way, it was the turn of the common people, the sons of labor, to speak; and at Manchester they have made a good beginning. Perhaps no speech could be more eloquent than the patience with which the Lancashire operatives have borne a calamity directly due to the American war, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to stir them up to demand action against the government of the United States. But as a part of the nation they would be heard. The sympathizers with the Slave Oligarchy will not find much to please them in what was said or what was applauded. For their talk was of the "sacred and inalienable rights of every human being," and of the "common brotherhood of mankind"—words big with the hopes of the many, but an offence and foolishness to the privileged few. The cause which our governing classes delight to honor in their literature, in their public appearances, and in society, the attempt to organize on the American continent a nation having slavery as its basis, is one for which they express their strong detestation. They do not share the unbounded admiration of their superiors for the virtues peculiar to conquerors. And although they had been strongly counselled not to meet and encourage the North in attempting to "subjugate" the South, they were not to be made the dupes of words. They saw the absurdity of pretending that a war to restore a Union of self-governing and equal States was a war of subjugation. The subjugation which came home most vividly to their minds and aroused their indignation was something real. Why should the Lancashire laborers sympathize with the laborers in the Southern States? Why should they not, like the economists, argue that the slavery of Alabama is a part of the complex labor system by which they live, and wish it to go on? Why not assume the languid indifference of the upper classes as to the result of the great struggle? Simply because they are men whose hearts guard their understandings. Perhaps it is also because, possessing little more than our common humanity, they prize that above artificial distinctions of class or color. At all events, whatever others think is to be said for the slave-owner, in their eyes his offence is the greatest that man can commit against man, the sum and parent of all villanies. It does not matter under what fine names, of old associated with freedom, republic or democracy, the slaveholding caste organizes itself, its character is fixed by the fact that it holds millions of men in bondage, denying to them education, the rights of family, and the rewards of labor. Let it be known at Richmond that whatever favor the Southern oligarchy have found in England, our working-classes understand their cause. The "chivalry" have inflicted on honorable industry, by the position assigned to the laborers in their system, a stigma and an insult that will never be forgiven.

The Manchester workmen were not content to dwell in abstractions, but declared in a resolution their "profound sympathy with the efforts of the government of the United States to maintain the Union in its integrity," and also adopted an address to President Lincoln. We printed this address yesterday for the information of our readers, and we print it again to-day for the honor of Old England and the instruction of all whom it may concern. Let the Scribes who have labored to pervert the moral sentiment of the nation read it. Let the Pharisees who made *soirées* for Mrs. Stowe, when the reputation of a philanthropist involved no responsibility, and whose voice is not now heard except in favor of the slaveholder, read it. Let the epicurean who deems it folly to distress himself about the wrongs of others, read it. And let all who have labored to glorify the Slave Power, the most monstrous outgrowth of the modern world, read it, and see how vain have been their efforts to corrupt the minds of the working-classes, and how wide a gulf is fixed between them and the great body of the people.

"*To* ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

"AS citizens of Manchester, assembled at the Free Trade Hall, we beg to express our fraternal sentiments towards you and your country. We rejoice in your greatness, as an outgrowth of England, whose blood and language you share, whose orderly and legal freedom you have applied to new circumstances, over a region immeasurably greater than our own. We honor your free States, as a singularly happy abode for the working millions, where industry is honored. One thing alone has, in the past, lessened our sympathy with your country and our confidence in it; we mean the ascendancy of politicians who not merely maintained negro slavery, but desired to extend and root it more firmly. Since we have discerned, however, that the victory of the free North in the war which has so sorely distressed us as well as afflicted you will strike off the fetters of the slave, you have attracted our warm and earnest sympathy. We joyfully honor you, as the PRESIDENT, and the Congress with you, for many decisive steps towards practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders, 'All men are created free and equal.' You have procured the liberation of the slaves in the district around Washington, and thereby made the centre of your federation visibly free. You have enforced the laws against the slave trade, and kept up your fleet against it, even while every ship was wanted for service in your terrible war. You have nobly decided to receive ambassadors from the negro republics of Hayti and Liberia, thus for ever renouncing that unworthy prejudice which refuses the rights of humanity to men and women on account of their color. In order more effectually to stop the slave trade, you have made with our QUEEN a treaty, which your Senate has ratified, for the right of mutual search. Your Congress has decreed freedom as the law for ever in the vast unoccupied or half-settled Territories which are directly subject to its legislative power. It has offered pecuniary aid to all States which will enact emancipation locally, and has forbidden your Generals to restore fugitive slaves who seek their protection. You have entreated the slave-masters to accept these moderate offers; and after long and patient waiting, you, as Commander-in-Chief of the army, have appointed to-morrow, the 1st of January, 1863, as the day of unconditional freedom for the slaves of the rebel States. Heartily do we congratulate you and your country on this humane and righteous course. We assume that you cannot now stop short of a complete uprooting of slavery. It would not become us to dictate any details, but there are broad principles of humanity which must guide you. If complete emancipation in some States be deferred, though only to a predetermined day, still, in the interval, human beings should not be counted chattels. Women must have rights of chastity and of maternity, men the rights of husbands, masters the liberty of manumission. Justice demands for the black, no less than for the white, the protection of law—that his voice be heard in your courts. Nor must any such abomination be tolerated as slave-breeding States and a slave market, if you are to earn the high reward of all your sacrifices, in the approval of the universal brotherhood and of the DIVINE FATHER. It is for your free country to decide whether anything but immediate and total emancipation can secure the most indispensable rights of humanity against the inveterate wickedness of local laws and local executives. We implore you, for your own honor and welfare, not to faint in your Providential mission. While your enthusiasm is aflame, and the tide of events runs high, let the work be finished effectually. Leave no root of bitterness to spring up and work fresh misery to your children. It is a mighty task, indeed, to reorganize the industry not only of 4,000,000 of the colored race, but of 5,000,000 of whites. Nevertheless, the vast progress you have made in the short space of twenty months fills us with hope that every stain on your freedom will shortly be removed, and that the erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity—chattel slavery—during your Presidency will cause the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN to be honored and revered by posterity. We are certain that such a glorious consummation will cement Great Britain to the United States in close and enduring regards. Our interests, moreover, are identified with yours. We are truly one people, though locally separate. And if you have any ill-wishers here, be assured they are chiefly those who oppose liberty at home, and that they will be powerless to stir up quarrels between us, from the very day in which your country becomes, undeniably and without exception, the home of the free. Accept our high admiration of your firmness in upholding the proclamation of freedom."

[We regret that we cannot, for want of space, publish in full the proceedings of the Workingmen's Meeting at Manchester, so admirably described by *The Daily News*, and which adopted the above address to the President of the United States. It was held in Free Trade Hall, Dec. 31, the Mayor of the city in the chair, and several workingmen made addresses. One of this class, Mr. Thomas Evans, said: "The question of slavery was one closely affecting themselves, for the more slavery existed the less wages were there for free men to receive (cheers). If one man had a right to improve his mind, and to do his best to rise in the world, so had the slaves of the Southern States of America. . . . . Instead of being so foolish as to go to war with the North—for the recognition of the South would inevitably bring such a war—let them rather maintain their poor a little longer—let them shake hands with the freemen of the North, and say, We glory in your cause (applause). They might not know what the North was fighting for, but they all knew what the South was fighting for. The great principle of the South was to build a nation based upon slavery and the productions of slavery. It was all very well for certain individuals, after having partaken of beef and plum pudding, and with their wine before them, to say, 'Gentlemen, we recognize the South'; but the workingmen of England were prepared to preserve their dignity and to act upon the dictates of their own hearts (applause). He hoped that when the history of this calamity should be penned, one bright chapter would tell that on New Year's eve there was a great meeting in Manchester in which the voice of thousands of artisans were heard saying, 'Onward, ye freemen of the North,' and 'Downward, ye Southern men who want slavery.'"]

GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN LONDON.

[On the evening of Dec. 31, a grand demonstration in support of the Emancipation policy of the American government was held in the British Institution, Cowper street, City road. The large hall was densely crowded, and several hundreds of persons were compelled to stand in the passages. We would gladly print the proceedings in full, as reported in *The Morning Star*, but want of space forbids. Addresses were delivered by Mr. R. Moore, Chairman, Rev. Newman Hall, Mr. Washington Wilks, and others. The following address to the President of the United States was proposed by the Rev. J. H. Rylance and unanimously adopted; and as the meeting broke up three vigorous cheers were given for Mr. Lincoln, and also three for the glorious cause of Emancipation.]

"*To his Excellency* ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States.*

"SIR: We who offer to you this address are Englishmen and working men. We prize as our dearest inheritance, bought for us by the blood of our fathers, the liberty we enjoy—the liberty of free labor upon a free soil. We have, therefore, been accustomed to regard with veneration and gratitude the founders of the great republic in which the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon race have been widened beyond all the precedents of the Old World, and in which there was nothing to condemn or to lament but the slavery and degradation of men guilty only of a colored skin or an African parentage. We have looked with admiration and sympathy upon the brave, generous and untiring efforts of a large party in the Northern States to deliver the Union from this curse and shame. We rejoiced, sir, in your election to the Presidency, as a splendid proof that the principles of universal freedom and equality were rising to the ascendant. We regarded with abhorrence the conspiracy and rebellion by which it was sought at once to overthrow the supremacy of a government based upon the most popular suffrage in the world, and to perpetuate the hateful inequalities of race. We have ever heard with indignation the slander that ascribes to England sympathy with a rebellion of slaveholders, and all proposals to recognize in friendship a Confederacy that boasts of slavery as its corner-stone. We have watched with the warmest interest the steady advance of your policy along the path of emancipation; and on this eve of the day on which your proclamation of freedom takes effect, we pray God to strengthen your hands, to confirm your noble purpose, and to hasten the restoration of that lawful authority which engages, in peace or war, by compensation or by force of arms, to realize the glorious principle on which your Constitution is founded—the brotherhood, freedom and equality of all men."

GREAT MEETING AT SHEFFIELD.

[A great meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, Sheffield, on Wednesday evening, Dec. 31. There was a very numerous attendance. Mr. Alderman Saunders occupied the chair. George Thompson, Esq. (a member of the committee of the Emancipation Society), delivered a long and eloquent speech. The following resolutions were all but unanimously passed:]

Resolved, That civil war in any country is an umitigated evil, more especially in America, whose career of prosperity and liberty has been unprecedented; and as the institution of slavery has been the most prominent and influential cause of the war, this meeting is of opinion that the present is a favorable crisis for slavery to be terminated, and thus not only end the war, but give a promising and hopeful prospect to the future, of peace and prosperity both to America and England.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of England, as the recognized enemy of slavery, to give her sympathy and moral influence to the Northern States, to disapprove of the origin and continuance of the slave-owners' rebellion, and by all peaceable means to try to cement a closer and stronger union between this country and the people and government of America.

MEETING AT ISLINGTON.

[On the evening of Dec. 29, a crowded public meeting was held in Myddelton Hall, Islington, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the friends of universal liberty in America, in the prospect of the emancipation of the slaves in that country. Edmond Beales, Esq., barrister, presided; and was supported by the Rev. Dr. Massie, and other influential citizens. Addresses were delivered by the Chairman and others, and the following resolutions all but unanimously adopted.]

Resolved, That the anti-slavery action of the Federal government during the year now closing merits the hearty approval of the British public, and that this meeting declares its cordial sympathy with the President and people of the United States, who, with courage, unabated by difficulty and disaster, continue to struggle for the abolition of slavery either by military authority or by the adoption of a scheme like that proposed in successive messages to Congress.

Resolved, That this meeting strongly recommends to public support the Emancipation Society, having for its object to develope English anti-slavery sentiment, and thereby promote that hearty reconciliation of England and America in the cause of philanthropy and freedom to which this country has been invited by the noble and munificent efforts of the Northern States to assist in relieving the distress inflicted upon English operatives by the slaveholders' rebellion.

ENGLISH SYMPATHY TESTED BY POPULAR MEETINGS.

From The London Morning Star, Jan. 2.

More than two months ago Lord Russell expressed to Mr. Adams his belief that English sympathy, as tested by popular meetings, would still be found to be upon the side of the United States. The belief did credit to his Lordship's sagacity and knowledge of his countrymen. He might have made the statement in much stronger terms, and yet have fallen short of the truth. He might have said that in all public assemblages an overwhelming preponderance of sentiment would be manifested for the North. The experiment has been made, and with a degree of success that must have surprised some of its promoters. Wherever a vote has been taken upon the question, the sympathizers with the South have numbered about one in a hundred. In most instances, and in assemblies of the largest dimensions, the cause of the North has been sustained with absolute unanimity and enthusiasm. There were three such meetings on Wednesday night—the eve of the day on which the proclamation of freedom was to take effect. The great Free Trade Hall at Manchester, the Temperance Hall at Sheffield, and one of the largest places of public meeting in London, were crowded with workingmen, who adopted by acclamation addresses to President Lincoln in support of his anti-slavery policy. Nearly every day for the last month or two we have had to record some similar demonstration of opinion. These meetings have been held in various parts of the country—in the suffering cotton districts, as well as in the prosperous towns of the midland of the southern counties—and there has been not a single exception to the prevailing sentiment. Nowhere have the advocates of the Confederacy obtained as many supporters as there are slave States. They have been left in the most ignominious minorities whenever they have ventured upon presenting even an amendment that affected to censure the North for lack of anti-slavery earnestness. Of course it will be said that these meetings do not fairly represent the divided state of public opinion—that they are attended mainly by people who concur with the objects announced—and that the bulk of those who dissent choose to stay away. But they at least show that there is a powerful and active sympathy in the public mind with a cause that has been alleged to have no friends in England—and the adherents of the other cause are bound to attempt counter-demonstrations if they deny the conclusiveness of these.

It is chiefly to the Emancipation Society we owe these meetings. In little more than a month it has organized a committee of remarkable comprehensiveness and significance. The list contains more than two hundred names, headed by that of the greatest of living English philosophers—John Stuart Mill—and followed by those of a greater number of individuals distinguished for intellect and intellectual influence than any similar catalogue published within our time. The universities, the senate, the bar, the press, the pulpit, are represented by men whom no respectable opponent would disparage. They are by no means men of one party, nor of one religious denomination. They are not identical in opinion about the origin or the probable issue of the American contest—about the right of the South to secede, or the power of the North to reëstablish the Union. On these points the Emancipation Society is silent, and its members are bound to no agreement. Their Union is based upon the resolution of a preliminary conference, declaring "the importance of adopting means to counteract the alleged sympathy of this country with the so-called Southern Confederacy of America, and especially to encourage the United States government in the prosecution of an Emancipation policy." The former of these objects is at any rate quite within the province of Englishmen. It may be proposed without offence to the most sensitive about interference in the affairs of other nations. Neither can it be regarded as at all a superfluous proposal. The assertion of English sympathy with the South had long been so common, and had been so seldom contradicted, that its formal denial became the positive duty of all who disbelieved it. In a little longer time it would have passed into history as among the admitted facts of our generation. Lord Russell's judgment of his countrymen would have gone for nothing against the perpetual repetition of an opposite assertion. The Emancipation Society has certainly arrested a process so dishonorable to the English character. It has already collected evidence enough that among all classes of our countrymen there is an indignant repudiation of sympathy with a government founded upon the doctrine that slavery is a Divine institution. This in itself would be a considerable service to truth and humanity. But England owes a more positive duty both to herself and to America—the duty of offering encouragement to those who are pursuing, amid arduous difficulties, the path which she herself has trodden, with easier steps, to a happy, glorious goal. It should never be forgotten that the United States owe to this country both slavery and the anti-slavery agitation. West India emancipation almost created the Abolitionist party in America. In its earlier days it both suffered from and was aided by English sympathy. Now that it is shaping the policy of the republic, and even wielding the powers of war, it is as much as ever in need of, and as much as ever entitled to, all the moral support that a great people can give. In that belief, the Emancipation Society labors to develop English anti-slavery sentiment, and to convey the expression of it across the Atlantic. Who can disapprove of such an object?—who that is not indifferent to the wrongs of the negro, to the troubles of a kindred people, to the honor of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, can refuse to help? It is a work of the broadest humanity, of the most practical religion, of the most conservative as well as the most liberal policy. The most conscientious friends of peace may unite in it—for it will sustain no less effectually emancipation by voluntary legislation than emancipation by the chances of war. The ministers of religion may help it from their pulpits, or by meetings in their Churches, without the least intrusion upon sacred associations—for it aims at cleansing Christian civilization from its foulest blot. The women of our island may help it by doing again, let us say, what they did ten years ago—subscribing half a million of their names to an address of sympathy with American Emancipationists. In whatever method Englishmen give constitutional expression to their opinions or wishes, they may justly utter now the generous desire that peace and freedom may not be divided, but rule together over the whole fair surface of the Western world.

THE NEGRO.

WHEN Senator Sumner said, in Faneuil Hall, a short while since, that the negro was at once the humblest and the grandest figure before the country, he had a reward that Aristides would have envied—a hearty hiss. It was a hard saying, who could bear it! But to-day it is confessed on all sides that under this swarthy and repulsive figure is disguised the national savior—that there is no other name given under heaven whereby we may be saved but that of this poorest one, of whom Christ says, what you do to him you do to me. Those who are opposed to doing him justice virtually confess this, for they are found either proposing to say to the Southern States, "Wayward sisters, depart," or proposing men and measures who and which have been tried fully and with utter failure. They virtually admit that the nation should not or can not be saved. Those alone hold out a hope of continued nationality and unity who propose the immediate overthrow of slavery!

The government confesses that the negro alone can save us. It has no sympathy for him; it insults him in every possible way; it wishes him out of the country. Liberating him, then, purely as a military necessity, it places the nation really at the feet of the despised negro, as the King of Egypt in his sorrow was brought to the feet of his slaves, Moses and Aaron, saying, "Bless me also!"

There was stationed at Cairo, at an early period of the war, a General noted for his antipathy to, and harsh treatment of slaves. On one occasion, the soldiers of his camp gathered about the shore to witness the struggles of a negro who had been washed down the Ohio river, and was struggling toward them. Presently the negro gained the shore, and stood trembling and entirely naked before them. A white man shouted across the river, "That is my negro, send him here!" Some of the soldiers heard a voice which said, "I was naked, imprisoned, sick, and ye ministered unto me"; but the General heard it not: he sent the negro over, in a boat, to his owner, who whipped him with a cowhide in sight of the camp. A month or so later, at the battle of Shiloh, that General was taken prisoner. In a Southern town, a lady was insulting him grossly, and he sneeringly turned his back upon her; whereupon the husband of the lady took a cowhide, and inflicted upon the defenceless Major-General about as many stripes as he had seen fall upon the defenceless negro he had returned! When that General was exchanged, he celebrated the first night of his arrival at Washington by a glowing appeal for the immediate abolition of slavery.

This whole nation has been going through exactly the same discipline with that General. God holds the balances of the universe in a hand that never trembles, and justice never fails but to our short vision. Every stripe we have ever brought upon the negro, or suffered to be inflicted upon him, has been felt on our own flesh. Every groan we have wrung from a negro's heart will be sure to find its echo in some white breast. Until at last our quivering lips cry, "Justice to the negro," as the only way of stopping the drain of our own heart's blood.—*Commonwealth.*

GEN. BUTLER AT LOWELL.

ADDRESS TO HIS FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS.

MR. CHAIRMAN, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS: I have many times met you in this hall, but never under circumstances of greater embarrassment. My heart is full. My voice is choked with the emotions that well up to the eyes as I listen to your kind words of greeting and approval. My friends, if there is a reward to be sought on earth by a faithful discharge of duty, by a loyal devotion to country, it is the approval of one's friends and neighbors (applause).

You, sir, have flatteringly alluded to my services, but you have not alluded to the great element of my success. I have never been in battle without a Massachusetts regiment, and I have never been engaged in a battle where success crowned my efforts without a Lowell regiment (applause). The Twenty-sixth—once your old Sixth—was at New Orleans; it was at Baltimore; and if I could do nothing for you at Fortress Monroe, it was because the government kept back from me the Sixth and Eighth Massachusetts regiments. At New Orleans, at Fort St. Philip, your regiment waded up to the arm-pits in mud to attack that fortress, and it was owing to their gallantry that the fortress surrendered. It is to Lowell men, to Lowell perseverance—not alone in the fervor of the General in command, but in the brave and gallant comrades with him—that the country owes the glory of that victory.

Let us pause here a moment to drop one tear and breathe one sigh for the gallant dead who have offered up their lives on the altar of their country. I need not name them to you. Every heart cherishes their memory. But there occurs to my thought the name of the gallant Crowell, who lies now with his kindred here at home. These noble men have given their lives for the sacred cause of liberty, and they can never be forgotten. Now, friends, cherishing their memories, let us pass on to the scenes of the present and the duties of the living.

I have heard, but cannot believe it, that some are faltering in this hour of their country's peril; that the faith of some in the nation's triumph in this unhappy war has for a moment given way. Do you believe that there is a just God? Whoever believes in Him must believe that the cause of right and justice and truth must necessarily triumph. Upon that subject never permit yourselves to doubt. We may have to peril more treasure, to lose more sons and brothers in the cause of the country, but ultimate success is sure. To doubt this is, in my judgment, atheism of the worst sort.

I have heard it said, my friends, that I have changed in some of my ideas and thoughts on political questions since I left you. I have changed in some of my ideas, I grant you, because I have learned something (great applause); but that I have changed in a single principle, I deny. I stand before you the same Democrat, who for so many years battled for the rights of the people at the North, and now battle for the same rights in the South. I have found that this rebellion is a rebellion against the working classes, without distinction of color; and I have stood upon that question where I have ever stood, and where I shall ask you to stand, as I know you will. The rebellion was begun and is carried on for the purpose of creating a landed aristocracy, which shall give to four hundred thousand the government of eight million of whites and four million of blacks. It is for that that Jeff. Davis and his confederates have undertaken a rebellion which they claim is to secure the rights of the people. Do you think, if it was a rebellion of the people, it would be necessary to resort to conscription to raise their armies? Did our fathers have to conscript men? Did not our fathers willingly go forth? At this time, I may say that more than one-half the army of the South is composed of men driven into it at the point of the bayonet. Did anything of this kind ever succeed before, and will it succeed now? No; unless the laws of nature are entirely reversed.

Now, let us look directly at your interests and your duties; for I am speaking now, having just come from the cotton regions, where interests and duties for once go hand in hand. Would you wish to be at the command of those masters at the South who could make you do as they said by cutting off the supply of cotton? It is for your freedom from those masters that we are fighting to-day; that the people of the South may not claim to be our masters, but our brothers; that we may place ourselves where they will feel us to be, as we know we are, their equals, not their inferiors. It is to correct this idea that the Northern man, with red blood, blue eyes, light hair, and all that God gives to this image of himself, is not equal to the slave-drivers, with their thin lips and pallid brows—it is to correct this idea, I say, that we are engaged in this momentous struggle. That is the question before us; and he who does not side with us on that question says that he desires to kiss the feet of those masters. I went to Louisiana desiring to do everything to restore it as it was; to see if by any possibility I might bring the principles, the laws and the institutions which govern that State into harmony with the Union; but I found there no disposition to have that done. I found that the aristocracy looked upon us as their enemies; and I found that the working and middling classes looked upon us as friends. Within the first month 14,000 of those who compose the bone and sinew of New Orleans had taken the oath of allegiance, not by lip service only, but from their hearts; and from that day I found no man owning slaves who would take the oath of allegiance, except for the purpose of saving his property. That was the rule; there were some exceptions. I found the working men true to the Union, and I found the slave-owners false to the Union. I dealt kindly with the working men, and I dealt harshly with the slaveholders (loud applause). I recognized my friends and my enemies, and I made as wide a difference between the one and the other as there was between Dives and Lazarus (applause). I understand that you have sent forth your sons and brothers, not for the purpose of making peace, but war, wherever they found enemies. I believe that you sent out your sons and brothers for the purpose of insisting that the flag of the United States should wave everywhere in sympathy with the powers of the United States; and upon that thesis I have acted. I encouraged the laboring men. A thousand were employed every day by the United States; thirty-four thousand were fed every day by the United States, and over seventeen thousand of these were foreigners, whose Consuls assumed to represent them, but who did not represent them truly, because the Consuls represent commerce and property, not men. Thirty-four thousand, as I have said, were fed every day, and precisely the same action was taken toward men who needed this assistance as would be taken here. But those men had no voice in the newspapers abroad or at home, and the consequence was, their thanks and their applause were never heard, while the complaints of the property men, who felt that when they were struck slavery was struck, flowed all over Europe and the North; and every misrepresentation that the malice of enemies and traitors could devise was resorted to, in order to embarrass, and if possible defeat, my plans. But there is one thing I have a right to say—and I thank you, sir, for adverting to it—and that is, that from the first week when our soldiers entered New Orleans until I left there, it was as safe, as quiet, and as convenient to attend to one's business, by day or by night, as ever it was in the best-governed cities of the North—even our own (loud applause).

Now, my friends, I have detained you upon these topics quite too long. I have only come here to meet you and hear from you those kind manifestations which you have been pleased to bestow upon me, and to return to you the heartfelt gratitude which I feel. I assure you, that to your efforts, to the efforts of Massachusetts, and to the ideas of Massachusetts and New England, the country is indebted for that measure of safety which has been secured, and for those great efforts which are now being put forth. Be not deceived. Be not weary! Remember this: that while we may feel this war is hard for us, it is the effort of desperation for them. I have seen the conscript laws of the South taking the boy of sixteen and the old man of sixty—the schoolmaster not excepted—and force them into the ranks. While it costs us effort, it costs them desperation. While it costs us labor, it costs them life-blood. I wish that they might be won back without this; but so they have not chosen. As long as life lasts, as long as any power remains, we must stand by the Union, one and undivisible (applause). Every traitor, every man, every stream, every lake, every river, every mountain, that ever belonged to the flag of the United States, cost what it will, cost what it may (enthusiastic applause). If, as you flatteringly observed, I shall go back to another field of duty, I shall go back with the determination never to give up, never to compromise (renewed applause), never to have anything but that flag of ours as the symbol of our nationality. Whoever differs from that, let him go south of Mason and Dixon's line—he has no business here (applause). We may have no means of dealing with him here, but there are plenty at the South who will receive him with open arms, for the reason that he is their friend, not the friend of the country. Who proposes to give up the tomb of Washington? Who Yorktown? Who the honors won by Jackson at New Orleans? Who proposes to have anything less than that which belongs to us? Who proposes to give up our fair claim to Mexico, if it comes to that? No one proposes to give up the rights of this Union. But let me repeat—because I hear there are some who falter—come what may, whether weal or woe, there is one thing which we will not lose, and that is, the supremacy of this government over every inch of our boundary.

I desire a single word on the question of emancipation. On that question, you know, I have held certain opinions. Those opinions have received, in some degree, correction. I have views to offer which I think will commend themselves to the judgment of every one of you. Is there a man here who doubts that, sometime or other, in the providence of God, the negro is to be free—and that some day the protection of the laws will be extended over him, and that he will become free? No man doubts that, and all desire to guard against the evils that may arise from that change, and which cannot be made without disorganizing our political system. It is my opinion that all this has been sent upon the nation for some great oject; and it is my opinion that it will be easier at this time to settle this question than to leave it to be settled hereafter. Is it not evident to every mind, that the day and hour have come when all men, so far as this country is concerned—and it is the last refuge of slavery on the globe—shall be in political rights free and equal, as they were declared by the Declaration of Independence? (Applause.) Let no man be concerned about the question of social equality. They will be just so far equal as God has made them equal, and no more and no less. Take care lest we be found fighting against God. If He has not made them our equals, they will not be our equals. But He has made them free. God willed them free. God will have them free. And let His will be done!

As Gen. Butler took his seat, three times three cheers were given, with spontaneous and irrepressible enthusiasm. Presently the General stepped to the floor in front of the platform, when thousands crowded forward to take him by the hand, the band meanwhile playing patriotic airs. This pleasant ceremony concluded, the General left the hall, and the great assembly separated.

THE PROCLAMATION IN EASTERN VIRGINIA.

Correspondence of The New York Tribune.

NORFOLK, Va., Jan. 13, 1863.

ALTHOUGH, by the terms of the proclamation of Emancipation, the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth were excluded from its working, and the former status of affairs was declared to still exist, the slaves and their owners here appear to have arrived at the sensible conclusion that it is impossible for Virginia to be "half slave and half free"; that she must be "all one thing or all the other"; and that if slavery is abolished on one side of the James River and the Blackwater, it cannot flourish on the other. The slaves fully believe that Massa Lincoln has emancipated them all; believing this, they refuse to work for their former owners without wages, and there being no power to compel them to do so, a virtual emancipation has taken place, even in this region, where President Lincoln promised us that "all things should remain as they were." It is well for all parties that this conclusion has been attained. So much power is there simply in an idea. So much for the shallow reasoners who scoffingly asserted that Mr. Lincoln had liberated three million of slaves over whom he had no control, and retained in bondage the one million over whom his power extended.

On New-Year's day the slaves of the "Three Cities," Norfolk, Portsmouth and Gosport, with the African strangers within their gates, to the number of over 3,000, turned out *en masse*, and by processions, speeches, hymns and songs of jubilation, and other less objectionable demonstrations, celebrated what will afterward be their Fourth of July, and which will be commemorated hereafter as the 1st of August now is. That pageant doubtless had its comic and ludicrous features. It would have afforded to the pencil of a caricaturist most admirable and rare material; but he must have been dull as Leathe, who, beholding this spectacle, could not discern, beneath all its grotesque and *bizarre* aspects, a significance profound and pregnant.

The exultation of the slaves was great, but in most instances was restrained within proper bounds, and chastened by a remembrance of the fearful cost at which their freedom had been purchased. During the day the entire assemblage visited the mansion of Gen. Viele, who addressed them in a few well-chosen words.

At the conclusion of his address he told them to go home and tell their masters and mistresses that they were free men and women, and no longer slaves. This assurance was received with unbounded delight by the negroes, and with equal disgust by some secessionists who had gathered to see the show.

The conduct of the negroes, since the day on which they believe they received their freedom, has generally been good. In some instances, however, they have sunk down into indolence; in others, they have become very impudent to white people, especially those whom they know to be rebels; and in others, they have gone to work very industriously at stealing. That, however, is an accomplishment which they possessed while slaves. The mere fact of being free will not at once change the nature of a man. He that was lazy will be lazy still; he that stole before will probably steal the more now; while he that was industrious as a slave will be more industrious as a free man.

"Massa," said an old woman to the writer, the other day, "Massa, I have had twenty children. My Massa and Missus sole 'em all off; one of my gals was sole to buy young Missus her piano. I used to stop my ears when I heard her play on dat ar; I thought I heard my chile a crying out dat it was bought wid her blood. Dey was all sole off—I'se not got one left to bury me. But Is'e free! and my ole heart is glad agin. I'll go happy to my grave."

Last Sunday, in one of the colored churches in Norfolk, the preacher took for his text, "Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free," and with great ingenuity, and without irreverence the preacher showed how President Lincoln, in emancipating them, had stood in Christ's stead to them, and how it was now their duty to stand fast, and fight for the liberty which he, under God, had given them. And from the whole congregation there rose a cry, as if with one voice, "Amen! glory be to God! we'll fight till de cows' tails drop off!"

The other night a slave-owner, living just outside our lines, invited a number of his slaves, and those of some of his neighbors, who had been living in Norfolk for some time, a dozen in number, to his house, promising them their usual Christmas and New Year's gifts. The negroes fell into the trap, went to the place, were treated with drugged whiskey, handcuffed, and taken off to Richmond.

CAMP SUFFOLK, Jan. 13, 1863.

The colored race, of whom there is a large representation here, are jubilant over the President's Proclamation. True it is, that the finger of Deity has traced upon the hearts of all men the love of liberty. The idea that the negroes South wish to continue in bondage is preposterous. They desire to be free, and are willing to make sacrifices, and even to do battle for freedom, if given the privilege and proper encouragement. I cannot divine how an intelligent person could come into the land of "Dixie" and not become an Abolitionist. The most ultra Anti-Slavery writers have not colored too highly the sinfulness and evil effects of the "peculiar institution." It can be said even of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that "truth is strange, stranger than fiction."

A number of spelling-books were sent here for distribution among the contrabands not long since, and the avidity with which they seized upon them, and the desire and industry evinced to master their contents, is both surprising and interesting to behold. Most of them, notwithstanding the thick cranium, make commendable progress. All possible care has been taken to preclude to the slave every means of education. To teach one to read has been a crime. The "chivalry" appreciated the fact that if the minds of this people were enlightened the shackles of slavery would fall off.

It cannot be said of the negroes here that they will not work. They labor cheerfully and efficiently on our fortifications and roads for a mere pittance. By their own efforts a village of log-houses is springing up on the banks of the Nansemond, which they call Uniontown, but is known to the soldiers as "New Jerusalem."

REBEL VIEW OF THE PROCLAMATION.

[Extract from Jeff. Davis's message to the Rebel Congress.]

THE public journals of the North have been received, containing a proclamation, dated on the first day of the present month, signed by the President of the United States, in which he orders and declares all slaves within ten of the States of the Confederacy to be free, except such as are found within certain districts now occupied in part by the armed forces of the enemy. We may well leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow-men of all countries to pass judgment on a measure by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race—peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere—are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters by the insidious recommendation "to abstain from violence unless in necessary self defence." Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses. So far as regards the action of this government on such criminals as may attempt its execution, I confine myself to informing you that I shall—unless in your wisdom you deem some other course more expedient—deliver to the several State authorities all commissioned officers of the United States army that may hereafter be captured by our forces in any of the States embraced in the proclamation, that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in exciting servile insurrection. The enlisted soldiers I shall continue to treat as unwilling instruments in the commission of these crimes, and shall direct their discharge and return to their homes on the proper and usual parole.

In its political aspect this measure possesses great significance, and to it in this light I invite your attention. It affords to our whole people the complete and crowning proof of the true nature of the designs of the party which elevated to power the present occupant of the Presidential chair at Washington, and which sought to conceal its purposes by every variety of artful device, and by the perfidious use of the most solemn and repeated pledges on every possible occasion. I extract in this connection, as a single example, the following declaration, made by President Lincoln under the solemnity of his oath as Chief Magistrate of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1861:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehensions. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the public speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interf

infatuation of certain of her leading Unionists in asking that the proclamation of freedom be not made operative on her soil! Why not petition that she be surrendered to Jeff. Davis at once?—*Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1863.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

A WHIP FOR THE HORSE, ETC.

PRAYER for our rulers at the present time might very well take the form said to have been used by a political clergyman in the early part of this century—Lord, have mercy upon those now holding the reins of government, and grant them that wisdom and discretion which they *so greatly* need.

Defeats by land and sea—the loss of towns, ships, regiments, munitions of war—enormous negligence in one quarter and enormous mismanagement in another—frauds in the food and clothing necessary to keep our soldiers in health, and atrocious neglect of them after they have become sick and wounded—all these are hard enough to bear. But we have to bear, in addition, the consciousness that there is criminal negligence in the headquarters of the nation, and in regard to its most vital interests. After long waiting, we rejoiced at having got so far as to have a policy proclaimed on paper. How long must we wait before that paper policy is carried into action?

The problem—How not to do it—seems to be as carefully regarded by the Washington authorities as by any functionaries in England. Our President seems not yet to understand that if he says A, he must say B; not to understand that the commencement of a gigantic movement, intimately affecting the present safety as well as the ultimate prosperity of the country should be followed up by measures wisely adapted to its continuance and completion. His prejudices of birth and education led him originally to propose sending the colored people out of the country as fast as they became free. When he had slowly attained the perception that this could not be done, he advised them to work for their old masters, the rebels, wherever these would consent to pay them wages, apparently forgetting that the "military necessity," which he had urged as the sole reason for the act of emancipation, required first of all that the labor and service of the ex-slaves should be detached from the rebel side. He seems partly unwilling and partly incompetent to do the things indispensably needful towards gaining advantage to the government from the transformation of slaves into freemen. And now it is left for a Massachusetts Senator, at the request of a Boston Association, to propose a measure so obviously indispensable to the public welfare as the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation at Washington, to make provision for the first necessities of the freed, that they may not starve before enlisting their hearts and hands in the service of the government.

Who goeth to war at his own charges? The volunteer receives his bounty at the time of enlistment. Even the conscript gets the promise of pay and rations, and receives direction what to do to make himself useful in his new position. But here are three million of people, whose help and good-will are absolutely indispensable to us in the war now going on, who are left without assistance, *and without direction* in the most trying and perilous circumstances; and who may reasonably doubt, in many parts of the country at least, whether the Federal government will prove any better friend to them than the Confederate government.

The slaves of Louisiana hear that President Lincoln means to give them their freedom on New Year's day. Of course they rejoice at the news, look forward to that time with eager expectation, and make what little prearrangement they can for a change of condition. Of course the President who has done so much for them ("not that he cared for the poor," but that their emancipation might benefit the nation at large) should point out to them how and where they should move so as to combine their own advantage with the nation's benefit. But not only does no such direction come, but Gen. Banks, sent by the President just before the time when this great change was to take place, tells these expectants in an authoritative manner, first, that no particular advantage is to happen to them on the first of January, and next, that they will not be "allowed" to take the promised liberty! Is this the way to make friends of the slaves? Is this the way to get their help? Is this the way to detach them from the possession of the rebels and the service of the rebellion?

This nation is "in perishing need" of all the help that the slaves can give. But it is obvious that we shall get only partial and fragmentary help from them without making it their interest and pleasure to give this help. Their enthusiasm as a people should be awakened in behalf of our interests as a people. Our nation has the opportunity, by conferring a great favor upon them, and doing it in a friendly manner, to ally them to us in heart as well as hand; to make every one of them active in assisting the government against the rebellion, as far as their power extends; to withdraw from the slaveholders all that aid which the spades and hoes of their bondmen have hitherto given them; and to force upon every soldier and officer in the rebel army the discouraging thought that there is an enemy always in his rear, and that his services may be yet more urgently required at home than with his regiment. The war and the rebellion might have been ended before now, had the President seasonably taken this method. But, having begun the course of policy of which this is an appropriate and essential part, it is unspeakable folly to "linger shivering on the brink," and fear to take that second step which is needed alike to give symmetry and effectiveness to the first.

Of course there should be a Bureau of Emancipation at Washington, and of course its Chief should be one heartily in favor of universal freedom, and disposed to labor most diligently in its behalf. And the urgent necessity of these two things is an additional reason why the Cabinet should be reconstructed, and a new one formed of homogeneous materials, so that all its members may work together for good, both to the freedmen, and to the nation.

We know very well that the President has not time to arrange the details of residence, and employment, and subsistence, and protection, for the vast number of men, women and children whom his edict has made free. For that very reason he should have established in advance a Department to decide, or at least to consider, arrange and suggest, such details. He has declared them free, he has told us, "upon military necessity"; that is to say, because the nation *needed* their freedom. He should therefore have given directions, or at least have made suggestions, as to how that new-given freedom should be used, so as to combine the nation's advantage with the advantage of the freedmen. His own negligence in this matter, and the movements of Gen. Banks and other officers in direct opposition to the policy of freedom, must leave the slaves in painful uncertainty whether they can safely espouse the cause of our government, rely upon its promises, and take action in its behalf.

Before the present crisis took place, in the old times when the Abolitionists were declaring the duty of the masters themselves to emancipate the slaves, it was always asked—What will you do with them when they are free? And the answer (very properly) was—Let them alone; let them take care of themselves; they have been interfered with, ordered about, treated as movable property too long already. Give them freedom under the laws which govern the rest of the community, and they will proceed, like other people, to work for their living wherever they can get good wages. In time of peace, and in a region where capital needs labor as much as labor needs wages, the questions of residence and occupation for the freed laborers would soon settle themselves.

In time of war, and when the territory occupied by the slaves is the especial theatre of war, the case is very different. While war exists, the residence and occupation of all men become more or less unsettled. The agriculture and other ordinary operations of the slaveholders, that is to say of the Southern landholders, are greatly limited by the war; and in those States there are no other capitalists to hire the labor of the freedmen. It is indispensable therefore, that when, for the nation's benefit, President Lincoln tells the slaves they may leave their masters, he should also tell them where they had better go, and what they had better do, to combine the nation's benefit with their own security. And this is the more imperatively necessary, since half the Generals and other officers who are carrying on the war are hostile to the very policy of emancipation which has now become a prominent feature of the war. It is right that Abraham Lincoln should reap as he has sowed. It is right that, having appointed such a man as Banks to a position where a great slave population was to be attracted or repelled by the demeanor of the military commander towards them, the President should find his own policy thwarted and nullified by the perverse hunkerism of his subordinate. But, meantime, between the slaveholders on one side and Banks on the other, the slaves of Louisiana are between the upper and the nether millstone; and this nation, urgently in need of the help those slaves could give, remains hanging in suspense as to its success in the war, and its very continuance as a united people.

Since the powers that be are thus criminally negligent of the things that concern our welfare, and even our safety, let the people not fail to raise a voice of remonstrance in their own behalf. Let the organs of public opinion demand the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation at Washington, to make provision for the first necessities of the freedmen, to allot them lands out of those forfeited by the rebels, to organize and protect their labor as near as may be to their former homes, and thus to form the nucleus of a loyal population which may assure the Federal government against any new upspringing of treason after the suppression of the present rebellion. Let all who feel the absurdity of retaining men in civil or military posts who dislike, and choose to obstruct, that policy of freedom which has now been entered upon by the government, make this opinion heard, and bring it, through ordinary or special instrumentalities, to the notice of the President. And such movements should be made speedily, before the incoming of the next Congress presents new barriers to the progress of reform. The fate of slavery is settled. The progress of free institutions in this world is settled. The superiority of true democracy over despotic government is settled. But the fate of this nation is not yet settled. We know not yet whether the Most High intends to use us merely as a warning to the rest of the world, or whether, through earnest effort, we may yet recover ourselves, and rise to the dignity and blessedness of teaching by example. Let us work while the day lasts. Let no hour and no opportunity be wasted.

THE SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

WE beg leave to invite the earnest attention of our readers to the standing announcement in our columns of the "NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY," to be held in Boston, on Wednesday evening, the 28th inst. The objects of that Anniversary, and its claims upon every earnest friend of the anti-slavery cause, are so well set forth in that announcement, which bears the honored signatures of some of the noblest women in the country, that they need no further exposition at our hands. It will be sufficient to say, that it is upon the money to be collected on that occasion that the American Anti-Slavery Society mainly depends for the means to continue THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD during the ensuing year. If we may judge from the tone of the letters we receive, the readers of this paper were never more impressed than they are now with the importance of keeping it alive until the last shackle is broken, and there is no longer a slave on the American soil. It is not to be expected that a journal so radical as this, having the support of no political party and no religious sect, but hated by them all for its fearless exposure of their shortcomings and selfish policies, shall live by its subscription-list alone. Experience has shown that all hopes of an adequate support from this source are vain, and that its existence must depend upon the contributions of the faithful few who see and feel the need of such a paper as a MORAL POWER in the land, above the control of parties and sects, and devoted to the inculcation of the highest and purest principles of liberty.

Friend of the Slave! read the call in another column, and, under a solemn sense of personal responsibility, decide how much you will contribute for the objects therein set forth. If you can give a large sum, be thankful for such an opportunity to help a cause you love; if you can give but little, give that little cheerfully, remembering that "mony a mickle makes a muckle."

Donations may be sent to Rev. Samuel May, Jr., Anti-Slavery Office, Boston; or, if more convenient, to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

THE JUBILEE IN BOSTON.

[Extract of a Private Letter.]

WHERE do you think 1863 found me? With —— and ——, and others in a colored church in Boston, to "watch the old year out and the new year in." We entered heartily into the spirit of the time. I was glad for the new year to find me with these humble, sincere people. Then in the afternoon we had that wonderful Jubilee Concert. No words can possibly convey to absent ones the deep, overwhelming emotion of that occasion. The music was the choicest, the best expression of our thanksgiving, and our sympathy with the millions who were that day born to freedom. The spirit was the same as if all the slaves were free, and all men were living together in peace.

Although we had to remember there were yet a million to whom no glad word was that day spoken; although we had to think of an unrepentant nation, whose members were at war with each other, yet it was good to drink in this foretaste of the happy end. That was a holy day. Its close found us at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Stearnes of Medford, to witness the uncovering of Brackett's bust of John Brown. You will know what the evening was when I tell you that among the interesting people present were Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Alcott, Judge Conway, Mr. Sanborn, and Samuel Longfellow. Mr. Phillips, with a few fitting words, uncovered the bust. Mr. Emerson read to us again the grand poem which he gave at the concert. I wish you might have shared all that day.

Can you think the end is very near at hand? Do you think there is military or moral spirit at the North equal to conquering the South? I can see in the future only separation from the South, followed by years of tragedy and disorder, until the North, divorced from the diseased partner, grows strong and good enough to draw back the South into a true union of hearts. Is this a dark, hopeless view? It is all I can see, and indeed what more can we expect? It is the heart that moulds government, and how can we think to have our ideal government grow from the spirit of America, drunk and paralyzed with slavery? I do believe, however, that there is enough of good to leaven the whole country in time, and that after a long period of festering and healing, we shall have a healthy body politic. We who know that God's law rules can work patiently and hopefully through all.

THE MASSACHUSETTS ANNUAL MEETING will continue but for a single day—not two days, as heretofore stated. The day is THURSDAY, Jan. 29th; the place MUSIC HALL. The friends of the cause from every town in the Old Commonwealth ought to rally on the occasion with unshaken courage, enthusiasm and fidelity.

THE PROCLAMATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

SPEECHES OF ROBERT PURVIS AND ALFRED GREEN.

THE friend in Philadelphia, on whom we were depending for the more "extended report" of the proceedings at the Celebration meeting held in that city on the evening of the 10th inst., thus writes us:

"The speeches that were delivered that evening have vanished into thin air. All that I have been able to gather of them, beside what was contained in *The Press*, and which I sent to you, are the enclosed outlines of what was said by Robert Purvis and Alfred Green.

"It sounded odd, and indicated changed times, to hear Mr. Purvis speak of America in connection with the subject of slavery, without his customary invective; and it brought moisture to many eyes to hear him—who for thirty years had stood a shining mark for the shafts of prejudice—say: 'Forgetting the past, I, too, am proud of the land of my nativity!'

"Mr. Green's speech, interesting in itself, was, like that of Mr. Purvis, made still more so by his identification with the proscribed class. He spoke as a newly-liberated man. His strong voice and fervid manner did much to enhance the effect of his address.

"Miss Grew's speech was in her usual felicitous and somewhat poetic style. I regret that a report of it has not been preserved. It thus began:

"'The event which we meet to celebrate to-night is so grand in its dimensions, so far-reaching in its results, that we painfully find words to portray it. Abolitionists look back through a vista of thirty years, at the commencement of which period a few Societies in different parts of the United States met for the purpose of overthrowing American slavery. Glancing at these thirty years, we slowly recall the obstacles from mobs, from Church, from State, and from society at large, down to the present hour, to which the finger of Faith ever pointed, and where the angel of Hope stood beckoning us on. When we began, it was to accomplish the freedom of two and a half million of slaves. To-day more than three million are emancipated. What can we say to-night, but glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to man! Notwithstanding our reluctance in doing right, the angel of Justice, though we have but touched the hem of her garment, will pour upon our heads riches innumerable, and prosperity without bounds will flood our lands.'

"The rest of the speech was in keeping with its beginning.

"Of Mrs. Mott's I have no notes at all, but its opening, and the attending circumstances, stand very distinctly in my memory. Her husband, you will remember, was the presiding officer, whose business it was to name the speakers as they successively presented themselves. When Mrs. Mott rose, the Chairman said: 'The next speaker, I presume, it will not be necessary for me to introduce.' A pleasant and sympathetic laugh on the part of the audience followed this. 'Nor is it necessary,' she quickly rejoined, 'for me to speak I have nothing to offer, unless it be—in the language of old Simeon to—say: "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."'

"These words, spoken in a voice naturally sweet, and made still more impressive by a slight tremor of emotion, produced a profound impression. You could have heard a pin drop. Every rustle was hushed, and the moistened eyes of the people showed that a tender chord had been struck. The rest of the address, like that of Miss Grew, was in unison with the beginning. It was congratulatory, but qualified with admonition; rejoicing over what had been accomplished, but mindful of what remained yet to be done.

"I regret to say, that since the meeting—probably owing to the inclemency of the night—both Miss Grew and Mrs. Mott have been quite indisposed. Both are better to-day, but as Mrs. Mott has reached an age when even slight indispositions are naturally regarded with concern, I should be much better pleased to say that they have both returned to their usual health."

SPEECH OF ROBERT PURVIS.

I hold it, Mr. President, and Ladies and Gentlemen, eminently fitting that the Abolitionists should assemble to commemorate the great fact of emancipation. It is but the logical result of their labors. In my recollections of the past, my mind reverts to those early days of trial and suffering, as well as of patient fortitude, of those noble men and women, who, for humanity and for God, lifted up their voices against the accursed system of American slavery. It is not my purpose, however, to enter upon the record of that ordeal, through which they passed, by a bitter and malignant persecution. It is enough to know that they have "fought the good fight," they "have kept the faith," and thanks to Almighty God, He has vouchsafed to them the victory!

With an overwhelming sense of the importance of this august and beneficent act of *Justice* and of *Mercy*, of which the President is made the honored instrument, I but express the deep feeling of my heart in joining with the millions of grateful hearts of our country in saying, "*God bless Abraham Lincoln!*" An honored friend, one who gave himself in early life to the cause of our enslaved countrymen, and who has served that cause for more than a quarter of a century, with unwavering fidelity, exclaimed as he read the blessed Proclamation of freedom—"I am proud in being an American citizen." I agree with that friend, and with every other man, in that expression; for, forgetting the past, and looking forward to the future, I, too, am proud of the land of my birth—proud of this mighty young nation—this awakened young lion, with power so vast, varied and exhaustless as to fill with consternation and terror the haughty despotisms of the Old World. Proud of a country whose soul is for freedom, and who, in the grandeur and sublimity of her position, will welcome under the ægis of her protection people of every nation and every clime.

And now, sir, in view of this Heavenly baptism of the nation, this holy consecration to the eternal and ever-living principles of freedom and justice—now that the righteous edict has gone forth, and

"The recording Angel's hand
Has penned it in a fadeless land"—

now, upon a well-grounded hope that the "Star-Spangled Banner will actually wave

"O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave,"

with every fetter in the dust, and every slave a man—I repeat, in view of such a glorious consummation, I am proud of being an American citizen! Sir, think of it! Free! everywhere free! our whole country free! No degraded vassalage on the one hand, no pampered slaveholding insolence on the other! Purged, then, from this monstrous crime against humanity and God, we shall have not only redeemed and saved ourselves, but in the panoply of an omnipotent moral power we shall revolutionize the world. With such a future before us, may we not, in the elegant language of Curran, say "to the stranger and the sojourner," who sets his foot on the soil of America, "he treads on ground that is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burned upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery, the first moment he touches the sacred soil of [America] the altar and the god sink together in the dust, his soul walks abroad in her own majesty, his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

ADDRESS BY A. M. GREENE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is with the deepest emotion of gratitude to God, and to the instrument in his hands, that I am found participating with you in this common joy—the joy of an event that marks a new era in our national history; and which is but the direct result of your labours of love for the last 30 years. Nothing less could have followed; nothing else could have been expected from the fervent labors of an organization founded upon the immutable principles of truth and justice. Mr. President, the event we are now celebrating was foreshadowed by the earnestness and zeal of your organization, and the fierce opposition through which you passed with so much renown in the earlier years of your efforts. Yet, sir, thanks be to God, you have been gloriously triumphant over all this opposition, and to-night we rejoice over both the past and the present, and are sure for the future. Many have longed to see this day. Many earnest, warm-hearted laborers in the cause of human rights, a higher civilization, and a purer religion, have died without seeing this glorious achievement. The patriarchs and prophets of our anti-slavery religion were like those of a more ancient date. There were those who prophesied of a new and glorious jubilee among the children of men—an era when the Epochal hour, sounded from the firmament above, should be reëchoed from the earth beneath, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given," etc. And these prophets and kings, longing to catch one glad note of this new and glorious jubilee, died without the sight. So it has been with many whose memory we delight to honor. They labored with us, and would have desired no higher earthly joy than we this night witness; the fetters—legally—already broken from the limbs of three million of slaves in the rebel States; and the prospective, but nevertheless certain emancipation of the other million in the Border slave States.

Sir, among this class of our fellow-laborers and cotemporaries, I recall to mind the eminent scholar and philanthropist Theodore Parker, who, earnest and faithful to the end, died in a foreign land, regretting to the last moment of his life that this one foul blot was not yet wiped from our escutcheon. The old hero, who left us but a year or two ago, Capt. John Brown, the hero of Harper's Ferry; great and glorious as have been the results of his efforts, his heroism and his martyrdom, yet his eyes beheld not this heavenly light; his ears heard not the joyful sound that our eyes and ears have this night been saluted with.

In looking over the last blank page of my pocket diary for 1862, and the first page of my diary for 1863, I was struck with the analogy there presented. The last day of December, 1862, was stormy and boisterous as a hurricane. January 1st, 1863, was mild and gentle as a lamb. A brilliant glow of sunshine played beautifully around, and hearts that were sad the night before were joyful under its sweet and gentle power. So, in a moral point of view, many a heart whose last lingering hope of future happiness was wrapped in the success of a dearly-loved one on the field of battle had that hope wrecked forever, by the sad intelligence of the concluding battles of 1862! And dark were the forebodings that another, and yet another must fall, before the struggle could end; and that perhaps a permanent peace, on principles of honor or justice, could only be realized through the blood of tens of thousands of our noble young men shed on the hundred well-contested battle-fields of the South. But, sir, the morning of January 1, 1363, brought new hopes and brighter prospects. We are now under the influence and inspiration that actuated the early founders of these great and free institutions of America. We forget all the past in the brilliant prospect of the future. Our arms will now be successful. In the midst of this rapid age of intellectual and scientific advancement, no land has outdone America. It is the land reserved of Heaven to try man's powers of industry and achievement. Nothing but a trial of the two systems of labor introduced to our country, the one at Plymouth Rock, the other on the James River, has been the cause of strife, and produced this sad state of affairs, impeding the progress of society and the onward march of intellect through our land, from Maine to the shores of the great Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean.

At the time you organized the Association now assembled in this Hall, we might have traversed the vast fields of the great North-West, and at every step have indulged in the reverie of Selkirk:

"The sound of the church-going bell
These valleys and rocks never heard,
Never sighed at the sound of a knell,
Or smiled when a Sabbath appeared."

But, sir, in less than half a century this vast wilderness has been cut out by strong arms and active minds; the wilderness is made to bloom—the desert to blossom as the rose, under the sturdy stroke of these Puritan principles spreading from the rock-bound shores of New England and now reaching the golden gates of California.

The happy shout of freemen are heard from ocean to ocean, and will now, thank God, soon be heard from Plymouth to the Gulf. What country has outstripped us in greatness or grandeur of achievement? None. What country more strongly bound by such a combination of railroad iron and telegraph wire, steamboat and canal routes, as makes a nation rich in commerce and all the great facilities of wealth and enterprise? None. And, sir, in all this glory and grandeur of accomplishment, the black man has ever been the coadjutor of the white; they started together, and they must end together. Such are the lessons of the past and the lesson of the present. We have worked together, fought together and died together, all through the history of the country; never before the present war with treason and rebellion was the black man's ability of muscle questioned. And necessity has at last broken through this prejudice of the present hour. Black men will now, as in the revolution, shoulder arms and charge bayonets against their mortal enemy; but for the first time in their history as citizen soldiers of the Republic.

There may be differences of opinion, as has been already suggested, as to the results of this proclamation, but there can be no question of its being a finger-board on the road we have been thirty years travelling. It is a mile-stone on whose face is plainly engraven characters that tell us plainly we are a long way from where we started. I have little fears as to the success of the project. Mr. Lincoln told the Chicago Committee that he had the power legally to declare Emancipation both by Congress and by the Constitution; but, said he, I think it would be like the "Pope's bull against the comet." There are fifty thousand bayonets in the Border Slave States (now professedly loyal) who would turn against me for such an act. But he had since dreamed that it would require as many thousand bayonets to keep one of these Border States loyal and protect it against itself, as there were loyal bayonets in the whole of them put together. Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia have each more than half that number now engaged in their protection, and are begging Congress for 20,000 more. Mr. Lincoln also saw that without the difficulty of a draft, or conscription, he could make a requisition and obtain three hundred thousand loyalists from the heart of rebeldom, that would be more terrible in suppressing the rebellion than all the loyal Border States put together. Many slaves in the rebel States lay down on the night of Dec. 31st, 1862, to dream of Freedom. In the morning they did not rise early as usual. On being interrogated, they said, I heard of the Proclamation, and I thought I would sleep all day. This, too, was an acquisition; for if we could affect the slaves so as to make them sleep and dream of Freedom all day, instead of digging trenches and rifle-pits, building forts, and producing supplies, the rebels would soon be compelled from necessity to lay down their arms.

My only fear for the last twelve months has been that Jefferson Davis and his confederates would snatch this key to the rebellion from the hands of Mr. Lincoln. Not because of their superior sagacity or foresight, but because of the conservatism of the Northern Democracy, who have hitherto done all they could to cripple and environ the Administration in its efforts.

I knew that just what we now see, and more, we would have to see before the rebellion was put down. Now I rejoice that the point is settled; it is now too late for Jeff. to intercept us. Let him arm his slaves; they will not harm us. The slave has wondered dreamily over our declarations of freedom and our interest in the cause of human liberty as a nation, and has wondered why his own fetters were not broken. He now sees that he is free. His only hope and faith is in the government at Washington. An old slave named Dick, belonging to one Walters in Virginia, made his way to our lines. His head was white as snow, and his appearance, together with his pleadings, touched the heart of the Provost Marshal, and old Dick was at once provided with a pass to go North. Now mark: Old Dick was a pet slave from his youth, and loved his *master and mistress and all de dear children mightily.* But when the Provost Marshal read the Proclamation to him, he flung his arms around his neck, exclaiming with a huge squeeze, "God bless you and the angel Abraham," and then falling upon his knees, he cried: "Great Lord, save old Abraham; the day of my deliverance has come." He then proceeded north to freedom. Soon after his two daughters, equally trustworthy and true to their owners, made their way North, and are now free. So with the slaves all over the South. A new inspiration will nerve their arms and minds for freedom.

The legitimate result of this Proclamation will be to show to the world that black muscle is as good as white in war. And the slaves will rush into the arms of Abraham Lincoln, believing that whenever they reach Abraham's bosom they will be secure from all harm.

I therefore congratulate you, Mr. President, on this high privilege of celebrating an event so auspicious in our history, and with which you are so closely and so honorably identified.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1863.

THE week that closed yesterday has been a very dark one in Washington, but there are streaks of light again in the East. The speech of Vallandigham came like a heavy thunder-shower, after which the clouds broke. The speech itself was a sign of the times. It would not have been made if our armies had won any decided victories within six months. He only dared to make it when the fortunes of the government and the loyal people were at a low ebb, and having made it, there was an immediate reaction, even in Congress, among the Democrats. In spite of all Vallandigham's talk about a *reconstructed* Union, it was seen by everybody that he meant submission to Jeff. Davis, at least by the West, and the repudiation of the debt. The plans of these Western pro-slavery Democrats are fully understood here. They mean first to stop the war; then to procure the separation of the West from the East, with the refusal of the West to pay its share of the debt. This is merely preparatory to a reunion of the West with the South, or, if not a reunion, at least a close connection between the two nations. Brooks and his friends in New York and Pennsylvania think that the central States will follow the West, "leaving New England out in the cold." These are the devilish plans of "the peace-makers." Vallandigham let them out in his speech, and a good many of his brother Democrats drew back with horror and dismay. The Democrats of New York could see in it utter ruin to their State and to their personal interests. There cannot be such a thing as national bankruptcy without ruining the State and city of New York. Sharp Democrats begin to see that the doctrines of Brooks, Vallandigham and Company are really the doctrines of the devil.

The Hon. J. Brooks, not "brother Erastus," has been in town for some days, consorting with such men as Vallandigham, Cox, Crittenden and Wadsworth. It is a singular fact that the better class of Border State men, who came here hating such fellows as Vallandigham as they did the rebels themselves, are now on the best of terms with them. Vallandigham and Mallory are now on excellent terms. Brooks and Crittenden sit down in the lobby, in full sight of the House, and talk together for an hour, and the old man of Kentucky is not ashamed to be seen thus conferring with this shallow-pated traitor of *The Express*, a man whom even *The Herald* censures. The truth is that these Border members love slavery a good deal better than the Union, and now they are casting about to save it, and there is no better way than to stop the war and submit to the rebels. Brooks has been quite a lion during the week among the "white feathers" of all kinds. The members from the State of Maine look upon him with loathing, for he is so mean as to slander the State of his nativity. His peace doctrines they could tolerate, but it is hard to endure the *meanness* of which he is guilty when he traduces New England—he, the son of New England. It is true, as Cox said the other night, that New England *has* produced some very mean men. Arnold and Brooks attest the fact.

The report of the Emancipation Commission for the District was submitted to Mr. Chase a few days ago, and it contained some very interesting facts. The Commission has acted very fairly, though some of our slave-owners feel very much injured because they do not receive more compensation. In fact it is less than fifty per cent. of the value, as estimated by the Commission, but it should be remembered that the estimate is upon the basis of sales made before the rebellion broke out. No doubt the compensation is ample. There is one case in the report which is worth quoting here as an interesting incident, showing the avarice of a slaveholder and the final good fortune of the slaves:

"It appeared in evidence that Mr. McCormick, being a citizen of the District of Columbia, and the owner of three slaves, removed them into Maryland a few days before the Emancipation act became a law. His farm is immediately on the line, and lies partly in the District of Columbia and partly in Maryland. He built a small tenement a few rods beyond the District line, and put the servants in it, while his own dwelling-house was on this side of the line, together with the cow-pen and whatever pertained to the homestead. The pasture extended on both sides of the line, as did other enclosures, in which the servants were required to labor, but with instructions that they should not cross it into the District of Columbia. It was proven that Alice was required to drive the cattle from the pasture to the cow-pen under the injunction, however, not to cross the line. It was also in evidence that the daily food of the servants was sent from the residence of Mr. McCormick, generally by some member of his white family, and when it was not thus taken to them, there was no alternative but for the servants to go for it, or to fast. This frequently happened, and they often went across the line to their master's house for the necessaries of life.

"It was also in evidence that the witnesses had seen the women on the District side of the line repeatedly—in fact, almost daily; that they had seen Alice driving the cows to the cow-pen and into it; and that they had seen them at Mr. McCormick's house repeatedly. It was also proven that for seven or eight weeks last past, both the women and the children have resided continually in the District of Columbia, at the house of an old man named Wedge, who is the father of Emeline's husband, and that Mr. McCormick and his family were fully aware of it, and though objecting to it, he took no steps to have them removed. On two or three occasions, Mr. McCormick had sent vegetables from the farm to Wedge's by the women, Emeline and Alice, with directions for him to take them to market.

"Since the women and children have been living in the District, at Wedge's, Mr. McCormick has been engaged for several days, with the aid of a hired laborer, in plastering the house built on the Maryland side of the line. The house is but one story high, and has but one room below stairs, with a 'loft' above. Under such circumstances, the house could scarcely be said to be inhabitable. These are the main facts brought out by the investigation, and in view of them, the Commissioners unanimously decide that the petitioners are entitled to their freedom."

Mr. Goodloe, the leading member of the Commission, is known throughout the North, especially among anti-slavery people, as a trusty and intelligent friend of the slave. He has been of great service to the government in the position he has occupied, as he is an old resident of the District. Acquainted with the character of slaveholders as well as slaves, he was just the man for such a Commission, and his name will become historic in connection with the emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia. It was here that the government did its first work of emancipation, and Mr. Goodloe, with his assistants, carried the act into execution.

The colored people of this city are preparing for a grand demonstration, to show that they appreciate the Emancipation Proclamation. Some of them are afraid of mobs and rioting. At a preliminary meeting held the other night, there was some disturbance. White scoundrels threw brickbats and stones at the building. There is a class of people here who hate the negro hellishly, and it is not half so much the negro they hate as *his cause.* They have such a malignant feeling towards the Republicans and anti-slavery men that they would like to butcher a few black men on our streets if they dared. Fortunately the government is still strong enough to suppress such scoundrelism, even if the Democratic party were to back it up. The colored people will be safe in making their demonstration, for if the pro-slavery men cannot be quiet and respectable while a procession of colored men pass up Pennsylvania avenue, government bayonets will undoubtedly keep the peace. It seems sometimes as if the infernal anti-negro prejudice could only be put down in this way.

The debates in Congress grow interesting—some of them are exciting. The Democrats are not yet ready to lead off into the pleasant paths of peace and submission to Jeff. Davis—pleasant to the eyes of Border State men, and a few such men as Vallandigham and Brooks.

In the Senate there has been an amusing debate upon the West Point Academy bill. Some of the Western Senators were very blunt in their attacks upon the institution. Messrs. Wade and Trumbull seemed to think that West Point might about as well be abolished, while Henry Wilson and other Senators very stoutly defended the institution. The fact that many West Pointers have turned traitors to the government proves nothing against the school. They went with the rebellion because they were Southerners and slaveholders—not because they were educated at West Point. It is not surprising that a prejudice exists against the school—this is human nature—but Senators when they legislate must eschew prejudices.

AVON.

EMANCIPATION JUBILEE OF THE KANSAS COLORED REGIMENT.

BARBECUE, SONGS, SENTIMENTS, SPEECHES.

CAMP HENNING, Fort Scott, Kansas,
January 2nd, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

YESTERDAY was a gala day in the history of the "First Regiment Kansas Colored Volunteers." On that day they first stood up with the direct sanction of the Union upon their efforts, as expressed by the famous and glorious 22d of September proclamation of President Lincoln. They were cheered by the telegraphic reports of his steadfast adherence to its terms. To the officers and men of this regiment, who for five months have prepared and waited amidst herculean opposition, it seemed as if an angel had passed, crying, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Our commanding officer, Col. J. M. Williams, determined to celebrate the advent of the era of emancipation by a barbecue and speeches in the old fashioned Southern style, minus, of course, the strong drink, for which this camp contains no use. The preparations were put in charge of our colored Captain, William D. Mathews, commanding Co. D., whose experience enabled him to best attend to the festival. The preparations were somewhat extensive, some 500 men having to be provided for, and the expectations of the soldiers considerably excited. Hunting-parties were sent out, and the game of the district brought in in large quantities. An ox and several hogs were roasted whole, and several hundred rabbits, quails, turkeys and prairie chickens cooked in addition. A bountiful supply of bread, coffee, cakes, etc., garnished the tables, which, in the form of a parallelogram, were set in front of Headquarters. The day was somewhat cloudy, but not disagreeable. Three flags floated over the scene, each of which had been presented to companies by the colored women of the town, in which the men had enlisted. At half past one, dress parade came off, and the battalion was then marched to the various company streets, where arms were stacked, and at a signal from the field music, each company marched, under direction of its orderly sergeant, to the table set apart for it; the line officers dining with the field officers and invited guests at a separate table. Capt. Ethan Earle, Co. F, officiated as President, Capt. Mathews as Marshal, and Lieut. A. T. Sholes, Co. G, as Toastmaster. The proceedings opened with the singing of the Star Spangled Banner, in the chorus of which the regiment joined with fine effect. After dinner the companies marched to positions in front of the President and officers.

Capt. Earle spoke briefly upon the occasion that had called us together, and the first sentiment was read by Lieut. Sholes.

"The right man in the right place—Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States."

Three cheers and a tiger were then given for Mr. Lincoln.

The President then called on Col. C. C. Willetts, of Leavenworth, who responded as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT, OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS: If I ever entertained prejudice against men on account of their color, that prejudice has long ago been entirely eradicated from my mind. My education has led me to believe that all mankind are benefitted the more by the universal system of allowing all men the privilege of 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness' in the manner best suited to themselves. And to-day, I have no hesitation in uttering my conviction, that it is the duty of the government to avail itself of every possible means within its reach to assist in putting down this rebellion. The time has gone by for the squeamishness and bigotry of those who are only half loyal to sway the action of those disposed to reach out a helping hand to save the republic. The most fastidious criticism against the employment of colored men as soldiers comes from those doing nothing themselves toward aiding the government in putting down the rebellion, and having never contributed one cent, either directly or indirectly, in support of the cause of the Right. Those men who are continually upholding slavery, at this late day, while that same system is endeavoring to uproot the best government the world ever saw, are behind the spirit of the age, and unless their obsolete ideas are put aside, they will be crushed. Free soil is better for the white man than slavery, and freedom better for all classes of men than involuntary servitude.

"I think better of the President for adhering to his Proclamation of Emancipation. Having satisfied himself long ago that slavery was the original cause of this war, and that it was a very powerful element used against the Union, he has not swerved from that position, and the indications are that he has no intention of doing so.

"Slavery to-day receives its death-blow, and therefore must necessarily go to the wall. You nor I, nor 'any other man,' could do nothing to save it, even if we were ever so much disposed to do so. We see by the papers received with the last mail, that it is the intention of the government to organize more colored regiments for the purpose of manning the forts throughout the South. This is a strong move in the right direction; and before many months roll over our heads, the official reports of some of our Generals down South will electrify the land with the details of battles wherein colored men will be mentioned favorably as having fought and bled for their country."

A hymn, prepared for this occasion by Capt. Mathews, was then sung by Capts. Martin, Mathews, Lieut. Sholes and Sergeant-Major Smith.

HALLELUJAH TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The voice of the North cries—Arise for your freedom;
From Afric's sad race God has removed all thralldom;
For bondage and chains and every oppression,
Has flow'd so freely for the slave's salvation.
Hallelujah to Abraham Lincoln, our great Freedom-giver,
We will praise him again on the banks of Red River.

Now Glory to God in the Highest be given;
Now Glory to God be reechoed in Heaven;
Around the whole Union we'll tell the glad story,
And sing of our freedom, salvation and glory.

Chorus.—Hallelujah, etc.

O President, ride on,—thy cause it is glorious;—
While our Colonel o'er rebels shall lead us victorious,
Thy name shall be praised by a disenthralled nation,
And slaves shall ascribe unto thee their salvation.

Chorus.—Hallelujah, etc.

When Southward we stand, having gained the Gulf shore,
Our Liberty with blood

co-laborers, in the attempt to crush out the unholy rebellion. Their efforts will be no mere struggle for conquest, but a struggle for their own freedom; a determined, and, as I believe, irresistible struggle for the disenthralment of a people who have long suffered oppression and wrong at the hand of our enemies. To them, the noble words of Albion's bard to the enslaved Greeks has a peculiar and appropriate meaning:

"'Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow?'

"I propose at some future time to remind this regiment of the duties devolving upon it, in its peculiar capacity as one of the earliest organizations, composed of the class that comprise the loyal people of the South."

Capt. Mathews then sung, with fine effect, the patriotic song commencing:

"A song for our banner, the watchword recall,
Which gave the republic her station,
United we stand, divided we fall!
It made and preserved us a nation."

The next sentiment read was:

"The Northern Loyalists:—Our gallant volunteers who hold no sacrifice too dear, no peril too great to make or meet, when their country calls."

Dr. Tenny, a Union refugee from Arkansas (Post Surgeon at Fort Lincoln, where two companies of this regiment are stationed), responded to this in a brief and telling speech, in which he appropriately alluded to battles fought for the Union, and gallantry displayed by our soldiers, more especially the Western volunteers. In alluding to the late victories in Arkansas, the speaker gave some incidents showing the effect of the war upon slave property. He closed with an eloquent expression of his conviction that the nation needed the services of the colored men, and that the Union could never be restored without their being in arms on its behalf.

Capt. Martin then sung the following marching song, (written by the Adjutant):

Ho, boys, chains are breaking!
Bondsmen fast awaking!
Tyrant hearts are quaking!
Southward we are making?
Huzza! Huzza!
Our song shall be—
Huzza! Huzza!
THAT WE ARE FREE!

For Liberty we fight,
Our own, our brother's right,
We'll face oppression's blight,
In Freedom's earnest might.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

For now as men we stand,
Defending Fatherland,
With willing heart and hand,
In this great cause we band.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

No more the driver's horn
Awakes us in the morn,
But battle's music borne,
Our manhood shall adorn.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

No more for trader's gold
Shall those we love be sold,
Nor crushed be manhood bold,
In slavery's dreaded fold.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

But each and all be free,
As singing bird in tree,
Or winds that whistling flee
O'er mountain, vale and sea.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

Our flag's Red, White, and Blue,
We'll bear it marching thro',
With rifles swift and true,
And bayonets gleaming too.
Huzza! Huzza! etc.

Now for the Union cheers,
Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!
For home and loved ones tears,
For rebel foes no fears,
Huzza! Huzza! Huzza!
And joy that conflict nears.
Huzza! Huzza!
Our song shall be,
Huzza! Huzza!
THAT WE ARE FREE!

The President then announced the reading of General Orders from the Commander-in-Chief, by the Adjutant, Lieut. Hinton, who said:

"That the proceedings so far had been incomplete by an omission which it was his duty to supply, the reading of the text upon which this jubilee festival had been predicated. So, in accordance to Captain Earle's announcement, he would request 'attention to orders,' and proceed to read the second paragraph of the Presidential proclamation of September 22nd.

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they make for their actual freedom."

"Now, boys," said Mr. Hinton, "do you understand that? It means that you may 'hunt, shoot, and destroy' every rebel slaveholder in the land, and that flag (pointing to the Stars and Stripes) and all under it shall not hinder but aid you in such righteous retribution." (Tumultuous cheering).

The next sentiment read was—

"The Southern Loyalists."

Responded to by Capt. Wm. D. Mathews.

Capt. M. is a man of dark color, a native of Maryland, one of the drilled and posted soldiers in the West, possessed of considerable native force, sagacity and acumen, and thoroughly in earnest and devoted to the rights of his race. His speech was the most original of the occasion, and it is impossible to give the quaint humor and earnestness of the Captain's manner in substance he spoke as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-SOLDIERS: I cannot make a speech, but that you'll find out. I was not privileged enough to have been raised in a State where I could obtain an education. I am a Southern man with Northern principles, am therefore entitled, both from that fact and my color, to represent the Southern loyalists, a few of whom are around us to-day, and many more waiting our coming. I was born in Maryland, a so-called free man, but I have never known what the word meant till of late. When there, I went to railroad or stage office, paid my money as any other man did, I was asked where the white man was who was to go my bond. That's Maryland freedom. I am two thousand miles from home and all my relations, and there's a good many of them—eleven brothers and ten sisters I am the one that's left home. I always believed in freedom and determined to find a place freer than that State. The first time I knew of any difference on account of color was when, a little chap, I thrashed a white boy for breaking my waggon. His father came to mine and wanted to cowhide me. Now, I always thought my father the greatest man in the world, and able to whip any one, for he could whip me, and he had told me always to behave myself, but not be imposed upon. But he told me I mustn't strike a white boy, for, being black, the law would punish me. That was my first experience.

"To-day is a day for great rejoicing with us. The President has proclaimed freedom. The Southern loyalists hear and intend to take it. I am not surprised while I rejoice. As a thinking man I never doubted this day would come, for I believed in God. It was a crime to hold and a sin to be a slave. If the Bible be true, we know that there can be no nation unpunished in which such are permitted. For my part, I believe myself responsible to God for my acts and not to man. I therefore claim to be entitled to as much of His freedom as any other man, and if His act debarred me therefrom, then He would not be a just God.

"Our condition at this time reminds me of when the children of Israel were in the wilderness, and Moses having gone up Mount Sinai, they fell to worshipping graven images. When Moses returned, he found they had forgotten the mercy of God, and were reviling Him. He then called upon all the sons of Levi who stood for the Lord, to gird on their swords, and come out from the host. And all the true sons of Levi girded on their swords and came out. Moses told them to pass through the congregation, and slay every one who was not for the Lord, even though it were his own brother, and they slew all who were not for the Lord. The rebels, like the Israelites, have forgotten God's mercy in bringing them through the War of Independence, and now seek to destroy the Union. Some, even, who pretend to be on our side, have made a graven image, and worship the curse they fought to destroy—Human Bondage. Abraham at last has called upon the true sons of the Union, as Moses did on the sons of Levi, to come out of the South, gird on their swords, and go forth slaying every man who is not with them, even though it be their own brother. Our Southern Levites have many a brother in the rebel army.

"Again, I am reminded of another scene in the Bible The Jews were once captured and carried prisoners to Babylon. They were held captives for many years. During this time the Temple fell into ruins. At last God put it into the heart of Cyrus, King of Persia, to rebuild Jerusalem. He issued a proclamation to all the kingdoms under his rule—'Who among ye will come up to build the house of God?' And the Jews came up from Babylon. When they came to Jerusalem, the king asked what part of the work they wished to perform and what pay they wanted. They replied that they came to rebuild the house of God, and would work, if need be, without price. Tools were put into their hands, and it was they who found the ark of the covenant and the keystone of the arch, without which the Grand Architect declared the Temple could not be rebuilt. Abraham Lincoln calls upon the captives to rebuild the Temple of the Union. They will come, four million strong, and when tools are put in their hands, find the ark of Justice and the keystone of the arch—Freedom. So that the temple shall be rebuilt and treason destroyed.

"Let me speak a word to my people. Now is our time to strike. Our own exertions and our own muscle must make us men. If we fight we shall be respected. I see that a well-licked man respects the one who thrashes him."

A new version of Dixie was sung by the Regiment, and the following offered:

"The Union to be—a land without a slave, and a government without a traitor."

Surgeon Macy briefly responded to this sentiment:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS: In the Prussian King's palace at Potsdam, upon the walls of one of its rooms, hangs a picture of artistic merit, representing the sale of a slave family upon the auction-block in a Southern city. Underneath it is written in German—'Liberty in America.' After this day that picture shall be taken down, and one put up in its place representing the white man, the red man, and the black man, all standing side by side, swearing, by their united efforts, that that old flag, the Stars and Stripes, the proud emblem of Liberty, shall never wave over another slave, and that he who undertakes to assail or destroy that flag and the human liberty of which it is the emblem, shall by this united brotherhood die. The Union to-be means this: the brotherhood of man; no geographical lines in freedom, no color in rights. Hail to its advent! We welcome its dawn to-day!"

The following sentiment was responded to by the Adjutant, Lieut. R. J. Hinton:

"Liberty's martyrs—the dead who die for man."

"MR. PRESIDENT, FRIENDS AND COMRADES: It is fitting indeed that we should recall, ere we close our festive jubilee, the sacred memories of liberty's martyrs; those who have died the holiest death that man can die—death in behalf of the lowly, the oppressed, and in defence of the august principles of democracy.

"It is more than appropriate to-day. We stand, O my comrades, in a day and hour whose every second is fraught with magnificent results to oppressed millions. We are standing in the midst of one of those momentous periods in history when humanity, striding forward, wears with glorious majesty the robes of a renewed manhood. A great poet has said, "To-day is a king in disguise." This is true of ordinary hours; but this New Year's day wears in imperial glory its royalest and most resplendent robes. To-day, democracy rules triumphant! To-day, universal freedom gains its farthest-reaching victory! To-day, the bond millions of the South arise as men, and prepare for the conflict which shall seal their rights for evermore, with humanity's sacramental and sacrificial wine—the blood of the battle-field! To-day, fellow-soldiers, you are free! Yonder radiant banner will never again float over a slave! The uniforms you now wear will never again cover a slave-hunter! The arms you carry will be used only to maintain that freedom which Abraham Lincoln—God bless him!—to-day proclaims to be yours; to vindicate that American nationality of which you, henceforward and forever, shall form a constituent part; and to defend that government which, securing justice to all men, arises 'disenthralled, regenerated, redeemed'; truly realizing that 'Liberty and Union' shall be 'one and inseparable, now and forever.'

"Is it not, O friends, fitting that we honor by remembrance those who have died that this day might be! Do we realize that all liberty's martyrs—the soldiers of all ages and nations whose blood has crimsoned revolutionary battle fields; the heroic patriots and statesmen whose souls from scaffold and block passed home to God; the martyrs whose spirits have risen triumphant from ashes at the stake; that all who in all ages have lived and died for man—so lived and died that this day might be; that we might here in Kansas proclaim a jubilee, and offer thanksgiving to Him who rules on high for the freedom that ennobles us? All that has gone before was that this day might dawn. This conflict, in which it is our good fortune to be humble actors, is but the drift of the ages—the hour which from time Past to time Present has been drifting down the centuries. Eternity Past was for this day. Eternity To-Be shall re'echo with the exceeding glory of its achievements. We will then honor the thousands whose names gem history as with diamonds; and the unknown countless hosts that, like the unnamed stars in the heavens above, fill our blue sky with their golden light; those who have lived, fought and died that ye might be free, and on this New Year's day give praise to Abraham Lincoln. Yes, brother soldiers, lowly and despised as ye have been, from the Son of Man, whose sacrifice redeems the world, through all generations they came—liberty's martyrs—the dead who died for man, that this new year might dawn upon your freedom; for—

"'Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.'

"Remember we honor not only those who have died in ages gone, but the thousands now falling about us. We give our sympathy for the desolated hearths, the bereaved homes, the heart-broken ones throughout this broad land, who, sending forth their beloved to battle, have seen them returned on their shields. We have the more right to sympathize with them, when we remember, as we must, that whatever the motives with which the loyal men of the free States went forth to battle, not one of their twelve hundred thousand volunteers have marched beneath yonder flag, but that every step so taken has made your enslavers tremble, and that at every blow they struck your chains have been weakened. It is therefore our peculiar duty on this joyful occasion, when we, too, assume the solemn responsibilities of freemen armed for liberty's defence, that our sympathies and gratitude should go out to the bereaved, our hearts be stirred, and our memories garner up the fame of all who have fallen. They die not unknown, our unforgotten dead! Their country shall cherish their names as precious gifts. Whether they sleep beneath the June-green fields of Bull Run, or upon the frozen hill-sides at Fredericksburg, she folds them forever in her heart, with all a mother's immortality of love.

"We, too, have had our dead. We remember those who were with us—with you and me—on the hard-fought field of Island Mound, and who, to-day, sleep in the honored graves of the soldier, beneath the soil of Missouri. As we revere their names, we hail with gladness and joy the hope that dawns so brightly upon us; that not long shall the soil their bodies have made sacred be desecrated with the footstep of the slave. As we march South, we shall bear, I trust, the consciousness that Missouri wheels into line with the free States, and forever hereafter keeps step with the jubilant music of a Union wherein justice and fraternity shall rule and guide. We will bear their memories and emulate their deeds, as we move towards the tropic sun. When we once more shall celebrate this day, whether many or few now here shall then be present, let us again remember our 'liberty martyrs;' and as we read the roll of those who shall have passed from us, rejoice with exceeding great joy, that they, too, have died the death of the righteous, and that four million of freed slaves have risen up, an imperishable trophy built by To-day in their honor.

"Let us, then, go on, emulating their deeds, living their lives, and dying their death, if need be, that we, too, may be ranked among those 'who died for man.' Examples crowd upon us. Have you not a right to fight for the Union? Let the blood of Crispus Attucks answer. Let the valiant soldiers of Col. Greene at Red Bank reply, with the commingling voices which, from every battle-field of our war of independence, attest the valor and patriotism of black soldiers. Let New Orleans and Bladensburg tell how slaves met and fought the invaders of the Union. Have we not more to fight for now? Not for country alone, or national independence, but for personal liberty, for wife and child, parents and home. These nerve you as you go forth.

"We should not close these festivities without paying our tribute of affection to the memory of the immortal hero whose grave is cradled among the Adirondack mountains. Three years ago he fell in Virginia in a mighty attempt to save his country from her slaves. We will wear the name of John Brown in our hearts, teach it to our children, and in our Southward march proclaim

'That his soul is marching on.'

Nor will we forget that band of young heroic hearts who with him flung themselves against slavery and died that America might be. It comes! It comes! Above the din of war, the smoke of battle, the jargon of parties and partisans, and through the sad and solemn responsibilities of the times, it comes—America, the home of universal freedom!"

The John Brown song, with its stirring "Hallelujah Chorus," was then sung by the entire regiment with thrilling effect, and the festivities terminated with nine cheers for "A free Union and its President, Abraham Lincoln," which were given with a will and vim that made the welkin ring. So celebrated the Freedmen of Missouri—now soldiers of the Union—the never-to-be-forgotten New-Year's Day—1863.

A few facts in relation to our organization may not be out of place in closing this report. The regiment commenced its recruiting on the 4th of August last, and has been nearly five months in camp. One battalion was raised in the northern and the other in the southern part of the State. About 650 men were raised by the former and nearly 400 by the latter. They were raised under the authority of Gen. Lane, Recruiting Commissioner for the (then) Department of Kansas, have been clothed, fed and armed, but are not yet mustered or paid. The Federal officers have no difficulty in asking our services, but there seems to be considerable in recognizing them in a proper manner. We have marched into Missouri, fought a severe battle there with a force of at least two to our one, while those actually engaged of the regiment, the enemy outnumbered four to one. We were victors at Island Mound, holding the field, killing 18 of the guerillas, and wounding 25; having seven colored soldiers killed, one Captain (white) and nine men wounded, and one Lieutenant (white), all of them severely. These latter all recovered. Through the opposition we have had to encounter, and the quasi-recognition with which we have been only so far favored, we have lost 200 men by desertion. The want of pay has compelled officers to allow about 200 more furloughs, in order that their families might not starve. Two companies are doing duty at Fort Lincoln, guarding rebel prisoners, etc. The remaining companies have been stationed at this point for the last six weeks, expecting the arrival of their pay rolls, which were forwarded to headquarters, St. Louis, pursuant to orders, a month since. We expect to march South within a very short time, pay or no pay, and joining Gen. Blunt in Arkansas, aid the organization of the auxiliary armies which now will arise to welcome the Federal troops as they march. The time occupied in camp has not been lost, but is seen in the presentation of the best drilled, disciplined and orderly 500 soldiers ever seen in the Far West. We have tested thoroughly the capability of the negro as a soldier. In general health, physique, soldierly appearance, and, above all, in devotion and subordination, there are no men now in the war that can surpass, and few equal them. They have an intelligent appreciation of the part they are to play in the drama. All we need is a proper outfit and some pay. Our officers are in almost the same fix as the men. Two of them are detailed from other regiments, but the remainder are only mustered as Recruiting Officers, with the rank of Second Lieutenants, and can obtain no pay until formally mustered.

The want of this is a great drawback. Our medical department suffers most, yet during the five months we have been organized, we have lost only eight men by disease. Our deaths in battle were eight and one man shot by the camp guard in a drunken row. We have had fifteen cases of small pox, most of them severe, but lost only one man. The general police and sanitary condition of our camp and men have been excellent, thanks to the care of the officers under the direction of our surgeons Macy and Harrington.

We shall move from this point and will be heard of again, practically carrying forward a jubilee to the slave, and bearing onward the President's proclamation.

R. J. H.

PERSONAL.

We are indebted to the Hon. Charles Sumner for a copy of "The Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census," by Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent.

Says the Ashtabula (O.) *Sentinel* of last week: "Mr. Giddings arrived at home a few days since on a visit to his family. He appears very much improved in health and seems to have stood cold weather well. He returns to his post of duty this week."

Ralph Waldo Emerson was in the American House, at Niagara Falls, lately, when it was burnt. He was roused by the cry at 3 o'clock of the night, and succeeded in making his escape through the smoke and flames with no serious loss.

R. F. Fuller, Esq., is engaged in the preparation of a biography of his brother, Chaplain Fuller, which will be published the coming Summer. A new edition of the life and works of his sister Margaret, the Countess Ossoli, is also understood to be in preparation.

A New Orleans letter in the New York *World* remarks—"It shows something of a change in public sentiment here when the newspapers can publish, as they do, a call for recruits in the 'John Brown Guards.' A bookstore window in Exchange alley displays lithographic portraits of Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner, and the glass is uncracked.

Senator Sumner, on Tuesday night, 13th inst., says *The Tribune*, read to the President an eloquent letter from Mr. George Livermore of Boston, acknowledging the receipt of the steel pen, with an ink-bespattered, broken, wooden handle, with which the President signed the New Year's Proclamation. Mr. Livermore's claim to its possession is founded upon his "Historical Research" as to the opinions of the founders of the republic respecting negroes as slaves, citizens, and soldiers, a copy of which was presented to the President while he was engaged in writing the proclamation.

A Lilliputian wedding is to come off in this city on the 10th of February. The parties are the renowned Tom Thumb and the pretty Lavinia Warren, now on exhibition, along with Commodore Nutt, at Barnum's Museum. The nuptial ceremonies are expected to take place in one of the fashionable churches in this city, and after they are over, the newly-married pair will give a reception, at one of the fashionable hotels, to those whom they invite to the wedding. The following morning they will go to Philadelphia, and remain there several days, after which they may extend their journey to Baltimore and Washington. They will then visit Boston, and subsequently spend several weeks at the bride's home, at Middleborough, Mass., and at the bridegroom's, at Bridgeport, Conn. After this they will go to Europe.

Says the Washington correspondent of *The Times*: "The hesitation of the government in regard to Gen. Butler's request to be permitted to return to the South, has given place to an intention to concede his wish. The President is greatly impressed by Gen. Butler's abilities and patriotism, and is fully satisfied of the mistaken policy of his removal. Unless some unexpected cause shall interfere to change this determination, Gen. Butler will be ordered to reassume command of the Department of the Gulf, as soon as arrangements can be made providing another command for Gen. Banks in the same section." We do not credit this statement.

The Dublin (Ireland) *Freeman* having cast some doubt upon the accuracy of Mr. McKim's report of the condition and conduct of the Freedmen at Port Royal, James Haughton, Esq., an eminent citizen of Dublin, addressed a letter to the editor, in which he said:

"I beg to say to you and your readers that I know that gentleman, and I feel myself fully authorized in bearing my testimony to his high character. I do not believe there is a man anywhere to be found who stands higher in the estimation of his friends than he does; and he is not only considered an estimable man in every sense of the term, but his judgment is much relied on. He was considered a man peculiarly well fitted for the mission he undertook, so that I have no doubt his report of this most interesting experiment, the high value of which, he took several weeks of personal investigation in satisfying himself of, may be taken literally without the shadow of doubt of its entire accordance with the facts of the case. I think it only right of me to bear this testimony to the character of Mr. McKim, as he is not known to many in this country. At home his judgment and his truthfulness are fully relied on by those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance."

A correspondent of *The Commonwealth*, writing from Washington Jan. 10th, attributes the removal of Gen. Butler to the united efforts of Gov. Seward and Reverdy Johnson, and says:

"Thirteen months ago Mr. Seward expected, as he still expects for the future, an uprising of a Union party in the hottest hot-bed of Secessia. That such are the Secretary of State's expectations I emphatically assert, and as proof, it may be stated that only yesterday, Jan. 9th, Mr. Seward most authoritatively tried to impress upon foreign diplomats the speedy reunion and *restoration* of the Union as it was, notwithstanding the proclamation, *still considered by the Secretary of State* as being *a waste of paper*. How far the foreign diplomats believe the like oracular decisions, is another question; certain it is that they shrug their shoulders."

THE TWENTY-NINTH
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

IN view of the colossal magnitude of the Southern rebellion, on the one hand, and of the corresponding efforts for its suppression by the American government, on the other, the Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY have deemed it expedient to defer their ANNUAL APPEAL to this late period—not knowing what events might occur, in the meantime, to render a modification or suspension of their established plan of action desirable, and wishing to be guided by the highest wisdom in such a momentous crisis.

Reverently recognizing in this awful visitation the hand of God in righteous judgment for our great national transgression, and trusting it may mercifully end in the total extinction of chattel slavery throughout the land; believing that the Proclamation of President Lincoln, emancipating forever all slaves held in States found in rebellion on the first day of January, 1863, will, if energetically and uncompromisingly enforced, inflict a staggering blow upon that fearfully oppressive system; they, nevertheless, feel that the uncertainties of civil war are too great, and the expedients of governmental and political organizations too unreliable, to justify, for one moment, any abatement of vigilance, activity, zeal, liberality, and determination on the part of those who have so long and so disinterestedly consecrated themselves to the godlike work of immediate and universal emancipation, joyfully "bearing the cross and despising the shame." With no personal or sectional feelings to indulge, no selfish ends to promote, no party or sectarian objects to attain—animated by the deepest religious sentiment and the purest patriotism—it is not for such to commit their sacred cause to other hands, to be lulled into inaction even by the most cheering signs of the times, to regard their special mission as accomplished, or to abandon their organized efforts and efficient instrumentalities which have hitherto been crowned with such animating results. Their work is, by Divine help, the extermination of slavery, root and branch; and so long as one slave remains in his fetters, and they are able to plead his cause, that work will not have been accomplished. They must continue to be "the forlorn hope" to the end, leading the way, and taking upon themselves the brunt of the conflict, until the victory be won, the captives set free, and liberty the birthright and possession of every inhabitant of our land, from sea to sea.

Granted, that the Anti-Slavery cause has grown from infantile weakness to manly strength—from universal proscription to respectful public consideration—from an apostolic number of adherents to a multitudinous host. Granted, that it is slavery which is the sole cause of the Rebellion, and that the suppression of the one *may* necessitate the forcible overthrow of the other. Granted, that the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, if it can be enforced, will include nearly three fourths of the entire slave population. Granted, that the rebels themselves, despairing of achieving their independence in any other way, may proclaim freedom to their bondmen, and thus secure their loyal coöperation. Still, we have to deal with stern realities, and must not allow ourselves to be deluded by mere possibilities which may never be fulfilled. Still, it must be remembered that no blow will be struck at THE SLAVE SYSTEM, as such, by the Proclamation; for slavery will continue to be recognized and protected, under the old constitutional guaranties, in all the so-called loyal slave States, and possibly reinstated in every rebel State, under the shield of State sovereignty, after its subjugation and the withdrawal of the Federal armies. Still, it is manifest that a powerful pro-slavery sentiment exists throughout the North, deadly hostile to every scheme of emancipation, defiantly claiming a strong reaction of public sentiment on its side, intent on persecuting and ostracising all who are obtaining their freedom by flight and the chances of war, and leaving nothing undone to get the control of the government, so as to make the most humiliating concessions to the South, and reconstruct the Union on a permanent slaveholding basis.

Under these perilous circumstances, therefore, there must be no indulgence given to the pleasing illusions of fancy, or to an undue exaltation of mind. The struggle for the abolition of slavery may yet be protracted for years; and, unquestionably, it will be fiercely contested to the end by all that is hostile to impartial liberty, North as well as South. We must gird up our loins anew, make a fresh consecration of our means and powers, labor with increasing devotedness, and ask for a discharge from this warfare only with the termination of our mortal life, or the liberation of all in bondage.

The Managers of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY give notice, therefore, that it will be held, as usual, in Boston,

On Wednesday Evening, January 28th;

And to that annual gathering they cordially and urgently invite all who abhor treason, love liberty, desire peace and reconciliation on an enduring basis, and seek the unity, happiness and prosperity of our now distracted, fearfully guilty, but we trust to be regenerated country—bringing with them (or sending, if they are not able to give their personal attendance) as generous contributions and donations as their means will allow, causing "the riches of their liberality to abound" even in "the abundance of their poverty"—assured that the proceeds thus obtained will be sacredly used, under the auspices of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, as hitherto, to disseminate light and knowledge on the subject of slavery by voice and pen, through the press, and by the lecturing agent—to quicken the religious sentiment, inform the understanding, stimulate the conscience, soften the heart, and so effect that mighty moral change in public opinion which is essential to the banishment of all complexional hatred and oppression, and, consequently, to the reign of universal justice and good will. It should be remembered that the pecuniary resource of the Society is largely dependent upon this instrumentality; and as its treasury is now empty, it is vitally important for its continued operations that prompt and liberal aid should be rendered in the manner already indicated.

To those everywhere who have so long and so generously aided us, we present our annual appeal, trusting it may be so ordered by the God of the oppressed that no renewal of it will be needed, by reason of the speedy and complete consummation of our labors and aspirations.

L. MARIA CHILD,	MARY WILLEY,
MARY MAY,	ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL,
LOUISA LORING,	CAROLINE E. PUTNAM,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,	MARY E. STEARNS,
SARAH RUSSELL MAY,	SARAH J. NOWELL,
HELEN ELIZA GARRISON,	ELIZABETH VON ARNIM,
ANNA SHAW GREENE,	ABBY H. STEPHENSON,
SARAH BLAKE SHAW,	ELIZA APTHORP,
CAROLINE C. THAYER,	SARAH COWING,
ABBY KELLEY FOSTER,	SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
LYDIA D. PARKER,	MARY ELIZABETH SARGENT,
MATTIE GRIFFITH,	SARAH C. ATKINSON,
MARY JACKSON,	ABBY FRANCIS,
EVELINA A. SMITH,	MARY JANE PAREMAN,
CAROLINE M. SEVERANCE,	GEORGIANA OTIS,
ELIZABETH GAY,	KATHERINE EARLE FARNUM.

☞ As the Refreshment tables will be dispensed with, no contributions of this kind are solicited.

CELEBRATION AT LUDLOWVILLE.

LUDLOWVILLE, N. Y., Jan. 12, 1863.

"O Liberty! can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy glorious flame?"

THE evening of the 8th inst. (Gen. Jackson's battle-day at New Orleans) was observed in this village, at the Presbyterian meeting-house, by a celebration of the President's Proclamation of freedom to the slave. The attendance, notwithstanding the almost impassable state of the roads, was large, and the meeting very enthusiastic. The platform was draped with flags and streamers, presenting a most animated appearance. Earnest and energetic speaking, with a very great variety of liberty songs, made up a rare and delightful entertainment. Whittier's beautiful song, "Who is my neighbor?" was sung with fine effect; also (with alterations to adapt it to the occasion) the song of the Hutchinson Family—

"Ho! the car Emancipation
Rides majestic through our nation,
Bearing on its train the story,
Liberty's a nation's glory," etc.

Resolutions were passed approving the President's Proclamation. In reply to the objection of some, that our government is all "going to smash," one of the speakers related an anecdote of an agent of the Underground Railroad, who, at early dawn, had conducted a flying fugitive on board the ferry-boat at Black Rock, to pass him into Canada. As the ferryman was about untying his boat, the slave-hunter came up, and, presenting a pistol at the head of the ferryman, said to him, "Untie the boat and you are a dead man." Whereupon the slave's friend, a stalwart, undaunted man, also presented a pistol at his head, saying, "You are a dead man if you don't untie the boat." The ferryman, looking first at one, then at the other, and then at the poor frightened fugitive, coolly replied: "Well, I'm a dead man any way, so let me die doing right"; and thereupon he hurried the fugitive to Queen Victoria's dominions. So, said the speaker, if our nation is to perish, let us perish doing right; and as in the act of doing right the ferryman saved himself and his panting "neighbor," so he trusted that in freeing the slave we should, with God's blessing, save the poor slave and our nation as well. Altogether the meeting was one which gave a decided impetus to the cause of freedom, and encouraged many hearts to abiding steadfastness and well-doing. Roll on the liberty ball.

LUDLOWVILLE.

AN APPEAL TO THE READERS OF THE STANDARD.

OUR readers all know, personally or by repute, Mrs. FRANCES D. GAGE, of Ohio, and most of them are probably aware that, some time since, she went to South Carolina, to assist, as way might open, in the care and instruction of the Freedmen. Her experience as a housewife, her acknowledged literary ability, and her ardent devotion to every good cause, commended her to all her acquaintances as an eminently suitable person for the work which there needs to be done. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that, upon the recommendation of Prof. Zachos, General Superintendent, Gen. Saxton has appointed her as Superintendent of the plantations, six in number, on Paris Island. This island, at its upper end, is six miles from Beaufort, and at its lower extremity six miles from Hilton Head. Mrs. Gage's son is the only white person with her. There are on the island three hundred and fifty men, women and children. In a private letter she says: "They are the lowest and saddest conditioned people I have found." On account of their isolated condition they have not received so much attention as others who are more favorably situated, and their wants are very pressing." Mrs. Gage says: "Can you not, through your good wife and lady friends, send me a box of goods? Among the articles needed are thread (linen, black and white), cotton spools of the coarser numbers, cast-aside children's clothes (if not too much worn), old dresses, men's coats, and other garments, etc. If your friends can help this poor people to life and hope, I think they will do themselves a great good."

We propose to do what we can in response to this appeal among our personal friends in this city, and we ask our readers, many of whom know Mrs. Gage, to give us their aid.

Packages (the sender paying express charges) may be directed to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Rooms, 48 Beekman street, New York.

THE FRIENDS OF AMERICA IN ENGLAND.—Our columns this week afford fresh and very pleasing evidence that, in spite of Tory hostility, as exhibited in the London *Times* and kindred journals, the Northern cause is not without intelligent and earnest support in England. The speech of John Bright, on the fourth page, is as admirable in spirit as it is unanswerable in argument, and has won for him the gratitude of the friends of freedom and progress on this side of the water. But the movements among the workingmen of England, of which an account will be found on the first page, are still more encouraging and significant, showing as they do that those in that country who earn their bread by daily toil are intelligently hostile to slavery, and, by instinct and reflection, in full sympathy with the North. The addresses to the President of the United States, from the workingmen of Manchester and London, are worthy of men who, appreciating liberty for themselves, cannot, by appeals to sordid interest, be made parties to a gigantic scheme for the perpetuation and extension of the foulest system of bondage that exists on the face of the earth. God bless the workingmen of England! And God bless, too, the Emancipation Society, to whose timely efforts we owe these manifestations of the genuine anti-slavery sentiment of the mother country.

OBITUARY.

Communicated for THE STANDARD.

DIED, at her residence, West Grove, Chester County, Pa., on the 4th inst., MARGARET PRESTON, widow of Amos Preston, in the 72d year of her age. She was a constant subscriber and reader of THE STANDARD, and deeply interested in the cause of anti-slavery and temperance, and in the general advancement of society.

A tender mother, a true-hearted and devoted woman, even when the activity of her clear and truth-loving mind was impaired by the paralysis which finally terminated her life, still, undimmed and victorious over the ravage of disease, glowed the tenderness and unselfish love of her spirit, the aspiration for truth and goodness, the patience and entire resignation which attest immortality, and give victory over the power of death.

Died, in Cincinnati, on Friday, Jan. 9th, BENJAMIN BOWN, formerly of Pittsburg, and more recently of Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio. Our first information of this sad event was contained in a letter from our beloved friend, Marius R. Robinson, of Salem, who says:

"Probably you have ere this been informed that our friend—the friend of freedom—BENJ. BOWN, went quietly to rest from his earthly labors on Friday, the 9th inst. He died in Cincinnati, but was brought here for interment. For weeks he had expected the event which he awaited with calmness, having put his house in order. His great desire to live until he could read the President's 1st of January Proclamation was gratified, and he died, joyful in the thorough conviction that freedom was now to be, in any event, the inheritance of the slaves of this continent. In this conviction I most fully participate, notwithstanding the machinations of Democratic submissionists."

We first met Mr. Bown at the Convention which assembled in Harrisburg, in 1836, to form the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; and from that time to the day of his death we knew him as a faithful and laborious friend of the anti-slavery cause. For many years he has been a Vice-President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as well as a member of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, and his face was more or less familiar to those who, from time to time, attended the anniversaries of these associations. His purse was always open to the claims of the cause, and the hospitalities of his home were freely extended to its advocates as well as to the fleeing bondman. Thus, one by one, in solemn procession, are the early laborers in the Anti-Slavery Movement passing onward and upward to a higher life. What comfort, in their dying hour, they must derive from the reflection that they have spent the vigor of their mortal existence in efforts to break the chains of the oppressed!

Born into the spirit land, at the residence of her son-in-law, Dr. A. W. Cain, of Chester Co., Pa., on the 18th of 1st mo., 1863, HANNAH DICKINSON, in the 77th year of her age. The departed had long been an appreciative reader of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and an earnest advocate of the suffering slave. P. W.

ELECTION OF UNITED STATES SENATORS.

Elections of United States Senators, by the Legislatures of several States, have lately taken place, as follows:

In Maine, LOT M. MORRILL, Republican, reëlected for six years from 4th of March next.

In Massachusetts, CHARLES SUMNER, Republican, reelected for six years from the 4th of March next.

In New Jersey, JAMES W. WALL, Copperhead Democrat, to fill term expiring 4th of March next.

In Pennsylvania, CHARLES R. BUCKALEW, Copperhead Democrat, for six years from the 4th of March next, successor to David Wilmot.

In Delaware, JAMES A. BAYARD, Democrat, reëlected for six years from 4th of March next.

In Indiana, THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, Democrat, for six years from 4th of March next. Also, DAVID TURPIE, Democrat, to fill term expiring 4th of March next.

In Illinois, WILLIAM A. RICHARDSON, Democrat, for balance of term of Stephen A. Douglas, ending March 4th, 1865.

In Michigan, ZACHARIAH CHANDLER, Republican, reelected for six years from 4th of March next.

In Minnesota, ALEXANDER RAMSEY, Republican, for six years from 4th of March next.

In Missouri, JOHN B. HENDERSON, Emancipationist, for short term ending 4th March next.

—The reëlection of Mr. Sumner is an event of more than ordinary significance, in view of the desperate efforts to defeat him. In the Senate, of 39 votes cast he had 33; in the House his vote was 194, to 41 for all others!

Proceedings of Congress.

The proceedings of Congress during the past week have been for the most part of a sort which does not require record in our columns.

In the Senate there has been a discussion upon the merits of West Point, a reference to which will be found in the letter of our Washington correspondent. Mr. Henderson (Rep., Mo.), on the 16th, made a strong speech in support of the bill giving pecuniary aid to that State to enable her to abolish slavery. On Monday, Mr. Powell (Dem., Ky.) made a semi-traitorous reply to Mr. Wright (Un., Ind.) who, breaking from his party, had previously made a strong speech in support of the government. On Tuesday, Mr. Sumner (Rep., Mass.), from the Committee of Foreign Relations, reported a bill to pay the French Spoliation claims.

In the House on the 14th, the traitor Vallandigham made a speech in the interest of his master, Jeff. Davis. He was replied to by Mr. Bingham (Rep., O.). Mr. Wright (War Dem., Pa) also made a loyal speech on the 15th. Mr. Walker (Rep., Mass.) spoke at length in favor of his well-known views of finance. On Monday, Mr. Bingham (Rep., O.) introduced a bill giving aid to the State of Maryland, to secure the abolishment of slavery. It provides that Maryland shall emancipate all her slaves within two years from the passage of this act, and forever prohibit slavery in said State. For this purpose the sum of ten million of dollars is appropriated by the bill, which was referred to the Select Committee on Emancipation and ordered to be printed.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

The Vicksburg Expedition under Gen. McClernand has had a victory in Arkansas, having captured the town of Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River, fifty or sixty miles from its mouth. Rebel loss 550 killed and wounded, and from 5,000 to 7,000 prisoners. While an attack was made on the rebel fortifications in front by the gunboats, the land forces debarked two

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

NOT DEAD.

To the memory of ALMINA CARY SWIFT, who, Dec. 11, 1862, entered into the Fullness of Life.

Thou art not dead, yet when I go to seek thee,
And find thee not, where thou wert wont to be,
And, listening, hear the cadenced melody
Of thy low voice—so marvellous to me—
No more, no more!

Shall I too call thee dead? Oh, shall I cry
Through the void silence, as I moan for thee,
"Tell me, my Beautiful, why didst thou die,
Why rise to regions where we cannot see
Who love thee, why?"

When next I stand in the familiar room,
And, half-expectant, by the vacant chair,
Lay back the curtains in their purple gloom,
To touch the golden shadow of thy hair,
Thou will be there.

Yet blind me not with thy seraphic face,
Nor seeking fingers thrill with spirit touch;
For I am mortal, and thine angel grace,
In its beatitude, would be too much
To see, and live.

Show me thy woman face—the sweet, sweet face,
That I must love forever—strong to bless,
Drawing all souls toward thee with the power
Of its unfathomable tenderness—
Those eyes, those eyes!

Oh, when Murillo painted Mary's face,
Through her mysterious, Madonna eyes
Her life out-flowed, in the transfiguring grace
Of love, that in the soul of woman lies;
'Twas thee he saw.

The earth is fair, O, lovelier, fairer far
To all-divining sight like thine, unsealed
To spiritual meanings. Yonder star,
Yon blade of grass, its mystery had revealed
To thee, to thee.

Thy soul was one with Nature's. Every vein
That fed the pulses of her mighty heart,
Flowed back to thine, with thrill of bliss or pain;
Her changing moods made smiles or tears to start
In thy dark eyes.

Now, when the days fade, when the mornings dawn,
And when the Springs their tender robes shall make,
And murmurous waves moan of a dear voice gone,
A sweeter meaning, for thy gentle sake,
The world will take.

Ah, now I mind me of a buried June,
When we above the sad, sonorous sea,
Sate side by side, and thy deep gaze drank in
A deeper life, from its infinity,
It spake with thee.

You murmured, gazing on the crowning woods,
"In such an air, and under such a sky,
Lulled by the rhythm of eternal floods,
'Twould be so holy, and so sweet to die,
To die, and live."

I saw the luminous lifting of thine eyes,
And trembled lest upon the scented sward,
Waiting to bear away my precious prize,
Stood the invisible angel of the Lord,
All veiled to me.

Now as I wander from my native North,
Thou to full liberty of life hast passed;
The Emancipating Hand hath led thee forth;
Enfranchised spirit, thou art free at last,
No longer bound!

Thou art not dead! Why should I go to seek thee?
A Presence and a Power I feel thee nigh;
Half unaware I turn as if to greet thee,
I know thee near.

MARY CLEMMER AMES.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 1, 1863.

JOHN BRIGHT ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

[We give below the most important and striking portion of the Speech lately delivered at Birmingham, by JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.]

I SHALL not go into a long argument upon this question, for the reason that a year ago I said what I thought it necessary to say upon it, and because I believe the question is in the hand, not of my honorable friend or any man, or in that of Lord Palmerston, or in that of President Lincoln, but it is in the hand of the Supreme Ruler, who is bringing about one of those great transactions in history which men often will not regard when it is passing before them, but which they look back upon with awe and astonishment some years after they are past (loud cheers). So I shall content myself with asking one or two questions. I shall not discuss the question whether the North is making war for the Constitution or making war for the abolition of slavery. If you come to a matter of sympathy with the South, or recognition of the South, or mediation or intervention for the benefit of the South, you should consider what are the ends of the South (hear, hear). Surely the United States government is a government at amity with this country. Its Minister is in London—a man honorable by family, as you know, in America, his father and his grandfather having held the office of President of the republic. You have your own Minister only just returned to Washington. Is it hypocrisy? Are you, because you can cavil at certain things which the North, the United States government, has done, or has not done—are you eagerly to throw the influence of your opinion into a movement which is to dismember the great Republic? ("No, no.") Is there a man here who doubts for a moment that the object of the war on the part of the South—they began the war (applause)—that the object of the war on the part of the South is to maintain the bondage of four million of human beings? (Cries of "No, no," overwhelmed by tremendous cheering.) That is only a small part of it. The further object is to perpetuate forever the bondage of those four million of slaves (prolonged cheering, mingled with dissentient voices). You will hear that I am not in a condition to contest vigorously anything that may be opposed, for I am suffering, as nearly everybody is, from the state of the weather, and a hoarseness that somewhat hinders me in speaking. I could quote their own documents till twelve o'clock in proof of what I say; and if I found a man who denied, upon the evidence that had been offered, I would not offend him, or trouble myself by trying further to convince him (hear, hear). The object is that a handful of white men on the continent shall lord it over countless millions of blacks, made black by the very hand that made us white (prolonged applause). The object is that they should have the power to breed negroes, to work negroes, to lash negroes, to chain negroes, to buy and sell negroes, to deny them the commonest ties of family, to break their hearts by rending them at their pleasure, to close their mental eye to but a glimpse of that knowledge which separates us from the brute—for in their laws it is criminal and penal to teach the negro to read—to seal from their hearts the book of our religion, and to make chattels and things of men and women and children (loud and prolonged cheers). Now, I want to ask whether this is the foundation, as it is proposed, of a new slave empire, and whether it is intended that on this audacious and infernal basis, England's new ally is to be built up (renewed cheers, and cries of "No"). Why, it has been said that Greece was recognized, and that other countries had been recognized. Why, Greece was not recognized till after they had fought Turkey for six years (hear)—and the republics of South America, some of them, till they had fought the mother country for a score of years. France did not recognize the United States of America till some, I think, six years, five certainly, after the beginning of the War of Independence, and even then it was received as a declaration of war by the English government (applause). I want to know who they are who speak in favor of England becoming the ally and friend, eagerly, of this great conspiracy against human nature? (Loud cheers.) Now, I should have no kind of objection to recognize a country because it was a country that held slaves; to recognize the United States, or to be in amity with it. The question of slavery there, and in Cuba, and in Brazil is, as far as respects the present generation, an accident, and it would be monstrous that we should object to trade with, and have political relations with a country merely because it happened to have within its borders the institution of slavery, hateful as that institution is; but in this case it is a new State intending to set itself up on the sole basis of slavery (cries of "No, no," which were drowned in cheers). Slavery is blasphemously set up to be its chief corner-stone. Why, I have heard that there are Ministers of State who are in favor of the South; that there are members of the aristocracy who are terrified at the shadow of the great republic; that there are rich men on our commercial exchanges, depraved it may be with their riches, and thriving unwholesomely within the atmosphere of a privileged class; that there are conductors of the public press who would barter the rights of millions of their fellow-creatures that they might bask in the smiles of the great (mingled approbation and disapprobation). But I know that there are Ministers of State who do not wish that this insurrection should break up the American nation; that there are members of our aristocracy who are not afraid of the shadow of the republic; that there are rich men, many, who are not depraved by their riches; that there are public writers of eminence and honor, who will not barter human rights for the patronage of the great; but, most of all, and before all, I believe—I am sure it is true in Lancashire, where the working men have seen themselves coming down from prosperity to ruin, from independence to a subsistence on charity—I say that I believe that the unenfranchised, but not hopeless millions of this country will never sympathize with a revolt which is intended to destroy the liberty of a continent, and to build on its ruins a mighty fabric of human bondage (prolonged cheers). When I speak to gentlemen in private upon this matter, and hear their own candid opinion—I mean those who differ from me on this matter—they generally end by saying that the republic is too great and too powerful, and that it is better for us—not "us," meaning you, but the governing classes, and the governing policy of England—that it should be as it is; but we will suppose that we were in New York or Boston, and are discussing England; and if any one there were to say that England has grown too big—not in the thirty-one million that it has in its own island, but in the one hundred and fifty million it has in Asia, and nobody knows how many millions in every other part of the globe—and surely an American might fairly say that he has not covered the ocean with fleets of force, or left the bones of his citizens to blanch on a hundred European battle-fields—he could say, and a thousand times more fairly say, that England was large and powerful, and that it would be perilous for the nation that she should be so great (applause). But bear in mind that every declaration of this kind, whether from an Englishman who professes to be strictly English, or from an American strictly American, or from a Frenchman strictly French, whether he talks in a proud and arrogant strain, and says that Britannia rules the waves, or whether, as an American, he speaks of manifest destiny, and of all creation adoring the stars and stripes, or a Frenchman, who thinks that the eagle of that nation having once overrun Europe may possibly have a right to repeat the experiment—I say all these ideas and all that language are to be condemned. It is not truly patriotic; it is not rational; it is not moral. Then, I say, if any man wishes that republic to be severed on that ground, in my opinion he is only doing what tends to keep alive jealousies which in his hand will never die; and if they do not die, for anything I see, wars must be eternal. But, then, I shall be told that the North do not like us at all. In fact, we have heard it to-night. It is not at all necessary that they should like us (laughter). If an American be in this room to-night, will he think he likes my honorable friend? But, if the North does not like England, does anybody believe the South does? It does not appear to me to be a question of liking or disliking. Everybody knows that when the South was in power—and it has been in power for the last fifty years—everybody knows that hostility to this country, wherever it existed, was cherished and stimulated to the utmost degree by some of these very men who are now leaders of this very insurrection. My honorable friend read a passage about the Alabama. I undertake to say that he is not acquainted with the facts about the Alabama (laughter). That he will admit, I think (renewed laughter). The government of this country have admitted that the building of the Alabama, and her sailing from the Mersey, was a violation of international law. In America they say, and they say here, that the Alabama is a ship of war; that she was built in the Mersey—that she was built, it is said, and I have reason to believe it, by a member of the British Parliament—that she is furnished with guns of English manufacture and produce—that she is sailed almost entirely by Englishmen—and that these facts were represented, as I know they were represented, to the Collector of Customs in Liverpool, who pooh-poohed it, and said there was nothing in it. He was requested to send the facts up to London to the Customs authorities, and their solicitor, not a very wise man, or probably in favor of breaking up the Republic, did not think it of much consequence, but afterwards the opinion of a very eminent counsel—Mr. Collier, the member for Plymouth—was taken, and he stated distinctly that what was being done in Liverpool was a direct infringement of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and that the Customs of Liverpool would be responsible for anything that happened in consequence. When this opinion was taken to the Foreign Office, the Foreign Office was a little astonished and a little troubled; and after they had consulted their own law officers, whose opinions agreed with that of Mr. Collier, they did what government officers generally do, and as promptly—a telegraphic message was sent down to Liverpool to order that this vessel should be arrested, and she happened to sail an hour or two before the message arrived (laughter). She has never been into a Confederate port; they have not any ports; she hoists the English flag when she wants to come alongside a ship; she sets the ship on fire in the night, and when seeing fire, and hearing shrieking, another ship bore down to lend help, she seized it, and afterwards robbed and burnt it. I think that if we were citizens of New York, it would require a little more calmness than is shown in this country to look at all this as if it was a matter with which we had no concern. And, therefore, I do not so much blame the words that have been said in America in reference to that question (hear, hear). But they do not know in America so much as we know—the whole truth about public opinion here. There are ministers in our Cabinet as resolved—to no treason to freedom—on this question as I am; and there are members of the English aristocracy, and in the very highest rank, as I know for a certainty, who hold the same opinion (applause). They do not know in America—at least there has been no indication of it until the advices that have come to hand within the last two days—what is the opinion of the great body of the working classes in England. There has been every effort that money and malice could use to stimulate in Lancashire, amongst the suffering population, an expression of opinion in favor of the slave States. They have not been able to get it (loud cheers). And I honor that population for their fidelity to principles and to freedom, and say that the course they have taken ought to atone in the minds of the people of the United States for miles of leading articles, written by the London press—by men who would barter every human right—that they might serve the party with which they are associated. But now I shall ask you one other question before I sit down. How comes it that on the Continent there is not a Liberal newspaper, nor a Liberal politician that durst say, or ever thought of saying, a word in favor of this portentous and monstrous shape which now asks you to be received into the family of nations? Take the great Italian Minister, Count Cavour. You read some time ago in the papers part of a despatch which he wrote on the question of America; he had no difficulty in deciding. Ask Garibaldi (cheers). Is there in Europe a more disinterested and generous friend of freedom than Garabaldi? (Cheers, and "No, no.") Ask that illustrious Hungarian to whose marvellous eloquence you once listened in this Hall. Did he tell you that slavery had nothing to do with it, and that the slaveholders of the South would liberate the negroes sooner than the North through the instrumentality of the war? (Cheers.) Ask Victor Hugo, the poet of freedom—the exponent, may I not call him, of the yearnings of all mankind for a better time? Ask any man in Europe who opens his lips for freedom—who dips a pen in ink that he may indite a sentence for freedom—whoever has a sympathy for freedom warm in his own heart; ask him, he will have no difficulty in telling you on which side your sympathies should lie (cheers). Only a few days ago a German merchant in Manchester was speaking to a friend of mine, and said he had just recently travelled all through Germany. He said: "I am so surprised; I don't find one man in favor of the South." That is not true of Germany only—it is true of all the world except this island, famed for freedom, in which we dwell. Why, I will tell you what is the reason. Our London press is mainly in the hands of certain ruling West End classes; it acts in favor of those classes. I will tell you what they mean. One of the most eminent statesmen in this country—one who has rendered the greatest services to the country—though, I must say, not in an official capacity in which men very seldom confer such great advantages upon the country—he told me twice at an interval of several months, "I had no idea how much influence the example of that republic was having upon opinion here, until I discovered the universal congratulation that the republic was going to be broken up." But, sir, the free States are the home of the working man. Now, I speak to workingmen particularly at this moment. Do you know that in fifteen years 2,500,000 persons—men, women and children—have left the United Kingdom to find a home in the free States of America? Why, that is a population equal to eight great cities of the size of Birmingham. What would you think of eight Birminghams being transplanted from this country and set down in the United States? Speaking generally, every man of these two and a half million is in a position of much higher comfort and prosperity than he would have been if he had remained in this country. I say it is the home of the working man; for as one of our poets has recently said—

"For her free-latch string never was drawn in
Against the poorest child of Adam's kin."

(Great cheering.) And there, there are no six million of grown men—I speak of the free States—excluded from the Constitution of their country and their electoral franchise—there, there is a free Church (cheers)—a free school, free land, a free vote, and a free career for the child of the humblest born in the land (renewed cheers). My countrymen who work for your living, remember this: There will be one wild shriek of freedom to startle all mankind, if that American republic should be overthrown (applause). Now for one moment let us lift ourselves, if we can, above the narrow circle in which we are all too apt to live, and think; let us put ourselves on an historical eminence, and judge this matter fairly. Slavery has been, as we all know, the huge, foul blot upon the fame of the American republic; it is a hideous outrage against human right and against Divine law; but the pride, the passion of man will not permit its peaceable extinction; the slave-owners of our colonies, if they had been strong enough, would have revolted too. I believe there was no mode short of a miracle more stupendous than any recorded in Holy Writ that could in our time, or in a century, have brought about the abolition of slavery in America but the suicide which the South has committed, and the war which they have commenced (cheers). Sir, it is a measureless calamity, this war. I said the Russian war was a measureless calamity, and yet many of your leaders and friends told you that was just a war to maintain the integrity of Turkey, some thousands of miles off. Surely the integrity of your own country at your own doors must be worth as much as the integrity of Turkey (hear, hear). Is not this war the penalty which inexorable justice exacts from America, North and South, for the enormous guilt of cherishing that frightful iniquity of slavery for the last eighty years? I do not blame any man here who thinks the cause of the North hopeless, and the restoration of the Union impossible. It may be hopeless; the restoration may be impossible. You have the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on that point (laughter). The Chancellor, as a speaker, is not surpassed by any man in England; but unfortunately he made use of expressions in the north of England—now, I suppose, nearly three months ago—and he seems to have been engaged during the whole succeeding three months in trying to make people understand what he meant (laughter). But this is obvious, that he believes the cause of the North to be hopeless; that their enterprise cannot succeed. Well, he is quite welcome to that opinion, and so is anybody else. I do not hold the opinion, but the facts are before us all, and as far as we can discard passion and sympathy, we are all equally at liberty to form our own opinion. But what I do blame is this: I blame men only who are eager to admit into the family of nations a State which offers itself to you—I do not charge them with it—it offers itself to you as being based upon a principle, I will undertake to say, more odious and more blasphemous than was ever heretofore dreamt of in Christian or Pagan, in civilized or in savage times (loud cheers). The leaders of this revolt proposed this simple thing, that over a territory forty times as large as England, by this Constitution the blight and bondage of slavery shall be forever perpetuated. I cannot believe, myself, in such a fate befalling that fair land, stricken as it now is with the ravages of war (cheering). I cannot believe that civilization in its journey with the sun will sink into endless night to gratify the ambition of the leaders of this revolt, who seek to

"Wade through slaughter to a throne,
And shut the gates of mercy on mankind."

(Enthusiastic applause.) But I have a far other and far brighter vision before my gaze (renewed cheering). It may be but a vision, but I will still cherish it. I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen North in one unbroken line to the glowing South, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic westward to the calmer waters of the Pacific main, and I see one people, and one law, and one language, and one faith, and over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and of every clime. The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amid an enthusiastic burst of cheering.

W. H. CHANNING ON THE PROCLAMATION.

[The following report of a sermon delivered in the Senate Chamber at Washington, Jan. 4, by Rev. W. H. CHANNING, is from *The Chronicle* of that city.]

THE word is spoken. The creative miracle is wrought in the word that is spoken. The deed is done, for the speaking of that word is an act of executive power. It is a deed, and a deed that makes itself felt, and shall make itself more and more felt through every living fibre of this republic, which is one organized nation. Words are the incarnation of thought. Thoughts are but the expression in the human mind of God's eternal verities, and shall not return unto their source void. Great words there are in human history. Great words were they when the Declaration of Independence and of freedom to this nation was sent forth to sound throughout the ages. Free hearts everywhere rejoiced in the opening of a new era, and felt that a vital element of humanity had in those words taken shape, embodied themselves, and were going forth in God's name to conquer

Great words were those when the first President of this republic solemnly repeated his oath of office and swore fidelity to the Constitution of this nation. The present head of this nation felt the awful solemnity of his oath of office when he solemnly, in the sight of God and man, swore to preserve the integrity of this nation, and the word which he has uttered of emancipation will stand forever through the ages, more grand in its significance and glorious in its fulfilment than any that has yet been heard upon this continent.

The deed is done. Great deeds have been known in human history, and the doer of them never knew their grandeur until the results appeared. Mockers there are, who, with superficial vision, assail all of God's mandates, who say that this word is a mere empty name. The giant of tyranny in his drunken sleep seems simply to start a little, and brush away from him this trifling interference with his slumbers, but wait when this war is swept aside, and we shall see that this brave deed of our noble-hearted President has cleft the mountain range that separated North and South—the free and slave.

Henceforth this war is known by ourselves to be—as God and angels have known it from the first—a war of principles, a war of light and of darkness, of truth and of evil; and God be thanked, our banners are now unfurled. This is a war of freedom against slavery. It is a war of the angels of light descended to battle the demons of darkness. I thank the God of Truth that all delusion is forever henceforth removed. This is to be a war which will rekindle the dormant enthusiasm of our soldiers. Fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, brides and children have sent forth their chosen ones in eager purpose to serve their nation with grand resolves. The lives lost will not be wasted, for this war no longer means nothing. Now God's angels set their trumpets to their lips, again to send forth the call in the name of God and man to strike for freedom. Those, too, who have thus far been denied the privilege of striking for the freedom of this republic, are now welcome to do so. It is the right of every one in the form of God to strike now for freedom. It is his birth-right. If any man denies this assertion of mine, and says that my naked facts are mere sophistry, then I will try to overwhelm him by another word which I think he cannot escape from. It is not only a man's right to strike for freedom in virtue of his manhood, but it is his *duty*, out of the relations in which he stands to his fellow-beings.

I will not put it, then, on what some would deem the selfish ground of right, although it is a high and holy ground, but I will put it on the ground to which every conscience must reply. It is the duty of every one who has been enslaved thus far, and who hears this grand welcome of freedom from that proclamation, to defend the rights which belong to wife and children. The simple duty of self-defence is God-given; it was recognized as a right beforehand, and it shall be the same hereafter. You cannot make man merely passive. You cannot separate defence from attack, and garrison-duty from service, and therefore the limitations in this proclamation are not necessary.

The next element of significance in this proclamation is this: it commits this nation henceforth and forever to the principle of freedom. You say not forever. You say a mere change of dynasties, a mere play of parties, will make this word as if it had never been, this deed as if it had never been done. But this proclamation of liberty shall not be void if ever withdrawn. We cannot tamper for an instant with the great purpose, with the great truth which has declared itself from Him to whom this nation has been trusted in this critical hour.

This word never can be unspoken, never can be unlearned. Henceforth it is sealed for ourselves and for the world that this nation puts away all party concession, and with a clear, simple, uncompromising voice declares itself for freedom only, for freedom everywhere, for freedom to all. Now, in that mere simplicity and singleness of purpose there is an enlightenment of the judgment and inspiring of the will of the whole people that cannot but make itself effective. Henceforth, through country, towns and cities, wherever we are, we shall feel that we are pledged to this great principle of universal liberty, and more and more it will expand before us, and more and more it will stir within us, and give power and vitality to the body politic.

Next it seeks to do justice to all men. There was a grand purpose in the separation of the races, and in their unity there will be a grand result. I rejoice to recognize the equality of the other race. In many elements it is not only our equal, but in several our superior. There is more tenderness of sensibility, there is more impulsiveness of affection, and a patience combined with a meekness of temper in the black race from which the most enlightened may learn. What gratitude we owe them already for what they have done for us, and we may owe them a much greater debt of gratitude hereafter when the latent spirit of manhood within them is fulfilled. I know how many differ in their judgments in this particular. I speak simply from the sincerity of my conviction.

It is not my belief that God designs to exile this race. It is my belief that he intends them to be with us, and make thereby a richer race than the white could make alone. As I understand it, the significance of this word is, doing justice to all men of all kindreds and classes. This involves another principle. This justice to all men is justice to men as men. It is our duty to God and man. Every individual in the image of his Maker is entitled to certain immutable rights. Now, think of the evils which have arisen to us out of the irreverence with which we have treated the colored race. I would not say aught to injure the most delicate feelings of any person here present; but I believe the irreverence with which women have been treated under the infernal influence of slave institutions has poisoned and corrupted society in the South, until its power has overflown our republic, and to this abomination, to this outrageous blasphemy against the interests of God and man, I think any true student of the history of this nation can trace much of the existing licentiousness.

Reverence for human nature shall correct all this. Those who have witnessed the scenes in this city for years passed know what have been the corruptions that have sprung from this outrage to God and man—from using woman as a tool. Who does not know, who has ever met face to face the haughty so-called aristocracy of the South, how these influences have inflamed the will, maddened passion, exasperated crime, and made them in their whole spirit and action tyrants. You and I under the same circumstances would have been the same. In our individual and private characters we might have been worse. Irreverence for man has destroyed that true respect for woman which is the very essence of generous feelings. It has destroyed the monitions of conscience and the call to justice. The grandest word in that proclamation was justice. That great word has been spoken, and from the declaration shall spring up a new reverence for man.

Once again, as a final element of the significance of this word I see in it a new manifestation of the collective life of humanity. Man exists in the image of his God. By treating with irreverence the most down-trodden and oppressed of races, we have been compelled by God's providence to recognize that we are sharers together in their woes. There is no escape from the common lot of humanity. The life of one is the life of all. Look at it not in the light of mere transient events, in the light of struggling parties! Carry it into a higher atmosphere, and see that it is the divine providence of God.

Those who have cried peace! peace! where there has been no peace; those who sought to postpone; those who have tried to hold together the broken bands of this nation by outward processes; those who, by some magic arts, would seek to make the appearance of life where there was corruption and death; those who would not recognize a solemn reality of God's living providence to his living laws, would not, dared not, anticipate the result which has grown out of their sycophancy and their subservience to a tyranny which had established itself. Out of their efforts for mere worldly interests, out of their bargaining for earthly gains, has come this awful judgment of God. We would not make this life sacrifice, and so God has demanded from every family in this land their first-born. His angel has passed, leaving the bloody impress on every door-sill. Because we dared to mock God, he has taught us that from every happy home, overflowing with wealth and luxury, throughout this land, the chosen of their hearts, who were folded most fondly, should be sent forth to fight the battles, and force us to recognize this law of life and humanity. It is true then that this contest is between liberty and slavery.

The efficacy of this proclamation will be shown in the broadest enunciation which we can give to this word—freedom. The winds will waft it, the mere elasticity of the springing bud will scatter it broadcast over the republic. Coming to all our homes are freemen, and freemen will be its glad messengers. More than this, we can demand, and we can see that the demand is enforced, that all who head our armies everywhere, and all who go forth as the embodiment of the law and of the government of this nation, shall be the declarers of freedom. Traitorous newspapers at home, treacherous allies of the South among us, who say there will be no effectiveness in this word, although your efforts may deaden our enthusiasm and strike at the will and energy of the Executive, it cannot be that a word of such power as this will fail in its efficacy wherever it is known. Only a few days since a gentleman connected with one of the departments of this government, related in my hearing his experience of a visit from a colored man who has already a large regiment now gathered in the woods and swamps of North Carolina and Virginia, armed and ready to spring upward whenever that summons comes, and who had visited this capital to learn whether the head of the nation would be true to his promise, that he might speed back on the wings of enthusiasm to carry the glad tidings that the day has come. It is only one instance of scores and hundreds that we shall see uprising in the South, of those who know their right to freedom and their duty as freemen, who are willing to work for the liberty and deliverance of this republic.

A bureau of emancipation should be established. We are attempting to carry on this great translation of society in this republic in too informal a manner. A greater problem was never offered to legislators than is now offered to us. It needs high counsels to alleviate the miseries of this transition state. We want a bureau of emancipation which shall thoroughly explore all the problems unfolding themselves in this great transition—which will lend all the energies of this nation to secure this transition in perfect order and peace. There is no reason why this transformation of slaves to freemen shall not be the most glorious period in modern history. There is no reason why, side by side with the terrible struggles of the civil war, shall not go the new creation; why amid the thunders of the war shall not be spoken the still small voice that opens the way and prepares for that new era. This must be done by a bureau of emancipation that may provide homes, and that may furnish a means of coöperating with slave labor.

In the next place, to lend full efficacy to this deed, we are to trust ourselves thoroughly to the working out of our sublime form of government.

This Western world, the Northern and Southern Continents, shall then be linked by one grand scheme of government meeting in some high Congress to declare common justice to all. The student of physical geography declared that as a matter of analogy he saw that this Western Continent stood before the Eastern Continent somewhat in the position in which woman stands to man. He saw in it a development of the feminine principle. I cannot pretend to declare the truth of this fine poetic vision. I would gladly welcome the symbol. Woman has been used by Providence in all ages through the purity of her will, through the aspiration and earnestness of her best affections to be a profit to mankind. It seems to me in this sense our continent is in a state of renovation to the fulfilment of that idea.

Now let our legislators, in a high ambition as statesmen, give full free wing to their most earnest love of God and man, and look forward cheerfully to the future, thinking of what this republic may become. There must be uniformity in the institutions, free schools, a free press, a free communion of all classes of men, and a free working-out of the conscience and intellect of the nation as a whole. We must look forward to a reconstruction of this republic. We lend a mutual aid, just in proportion as each State fulfils its peculiar duty. We cannot tell what may grow out of this variety of distribution under uniform modes of government. A rivalry is excited between States, resulting in mutual advancement. The difficulty has been that there was not a large enough sphere of ambition. Give a different sphere to ambition then, in bringing out the highest perfection of each particular State. Though uniform in the great principles, there may be great variety in the way which these institutions may express them. In place of an ambition that spreads itself over a wide surface, there will be an ambition that aspires after higher ideas. Let men look upwards rather than around, and aspire after grandeur of character. Out of all this uniformity of our institutions, out of all this unity of our nation shall grow a Congress; out of all the republics of the western world, shall grow a confederated nationality of nations, which will infuse a new spirit of government over the nations of the earth.

The first of January, 1863, will stand out as our most glorious period. Could the Church meet in high council to-day, and with the highest expression and eloquence embody the spirit that fills them, it would be an anthem of thanksgiving to God that this proclamation has been issued. The impulse of the people's heart to-day is a grand and glowing promise of what shall be the full expression, of what shall betide the taking away of all distinctions in society, and proclaiming freedom. All the nations of Europe, except such as are the parasites of aristocracies, rejoice at this event. Before the John Brights, the John Mills, before Cobden, and before all who represent the conscience and humanity of the English nation, what an upspringing of enthusiasm there will be that we have taken position side by side with Great Britain in this particular.

The great-hearted men of France will rejoice at the news; and the wounded Garibaldi, retiring to his rocky home to be replenished in strength, will gladden, though with a broken heart from hope long deferred. Before the future it will stand gloriously; and when the first of January comes again a holy jubilee will be celebrated by thousands and tens of thousands, by millions. Never will the first day of January, 1863, be forgotten. In words of gold hereafter shall they be printed. Brighter associations shall cluster around this event than have ever yet been known. The greatest names of our country—Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and a host of others, have advocated this idea, and I can recall now those grand words of massive eloquence which expressed the dearest wishes of their heart.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

JOYE (A PET NAME).

He sleeps, my Joye! Soft on his cradle bed;
While angel-watchers, hov'ring o'er his head,
Keep death at bay:
Two little hands lie on his baby breast,
Dear little meddling hands that know not rest
The happy day!

His little feet, their daily pattering done,
Shall never rest till their long race is run,
More sweet than now:
Dear wayward feet! as tenderly caress'd,
And by fond loving lips as often press'd,
As cheek or brow!

Would I could place them in the narrow road,
Knowing that they would seek and follow God,
No more to roam!
Great Guide! do thou direct them in that way,
Or watch their wanderings, should they wildly stray,
And bring them home!

He sleeps! his sweet young voice, so loud to-day
With the wild music of his joyous play,
Is hush'd like death:
My eager hand makes haste his pulse to bare,
My head lies bow'd close to his bosom fair,
Till his sweet breath

Lends back the glow which had forsook my cheek,
Leaving me for the moment faint and weak
With untold dread:
Methought his angel guard had taken flight,
While hover'd o'er my Joye a phantom white,
Which whisper'd, "Dead!"

Thanks! that 'twas *but* a phantom of the brain,
That fill'd my soul with such a thrill of pain,
For tears too deep:
Thanks! that his heart throbs, and I know he lives,
And that this calm is but what Jesus gives
His lov'd ones—sleep!

Faith sees the angel watchers, as before:
Trusting, I leave him to their care once more;
But oh! my boy!
Could I bend low, and say, "Thy will be done,"
Were God to come, and ask for thee, my son,
My Joye—my *joy?*

Manayunk, Pa. H. L.

COMPLETION OF THE AMERICAN CYCLOPÆDIA.

From The Evening Post.

IN a few days the labors of the editors of *The New American Cyclopædia* will be finished. We understand that their numerous corps of assistants is already dissolved. A task which has occupied for nearly six years, permanently, a staff of twenty-five able writers, besides a great number of occasional writers, is at last completed, and the event is one well worthy of notice.

The present work of Messrs. Ripley and Dana is the first original general Cyclopædia completed in this country. Dr. Lieber's valuable translation of the German *Conversations-Lexicon*, made many years ago by that industrious and erudite professor, with the assistance of a staff of writers, was long a standard work, but the rapid march of modern events has left it behind; and no attempt was ever made, we believe, to bring up arrears in such monthly supplements as are printed by Messrs. Brockhaus, in Germany, as continuations of the last edition of *The Conversations-Lexicon*.

The publication of Dr. Lieber's translation was rightly counted a literary event of magnitude and importance in this country; its success as a commercial venture was a compliment to the intelligence of our people. The completion of the present excellent and faithfully-edited work is an event of yet greater magnitude. We have taken the pains to procure for the readers of *The Evening Post* some statistics, which will show what labor and what pecuniary means were devoted to the preparation of the sixteen somewhat stately volumes which are now ranged on the book-shelves of subscribers, and form, for all who possess them, an intelligent epitome of human knowledge.

The work was begun in February, 1857. A staff of twenty-five writers was engaged, most of whom had desks in a large office, provided with a formidable library of books of reference in various languages. The Astor Library was, however, an additional and valuable place of reference. Besides the regular staff, as we have said, a number of gentlemen contributed articles on subjects upon which they were especially competent to treat; and it has been the rule, we believe, to entrust all papers upon the various sciences and arts to the most eminent professors and experts.

The labor of revising the articles as written, and again revising the proof sheets, employed not only the two editors, but in addition five or six other gentlemen, especially competent for this work, who verified dates and other figures, and, so far as is possible to human handiwork, made each page perfect. Besides this, proofs of all the more important articles were sent to the authors, or to experts, for verification and correction. The cost of the revision alone amounts to considerably over twenty thousand dollars.

The number of titles or subjects treated is about twenty-seven thousand. The sixteen volumes contain 13,804 pages, which have fifty-two millions of "ems"—printers' measure. To print the edition called for, of the first fifteen volumes, required 12,094 reams of white paper; to print ten thousand copies of the sixteenth volume consumes 556 reams more. The work has been circulated entirely by subscription; and it is saying not a little for the intelligence and wealth of America, that so costly a work as this obtained not less than seventeen thousand subscribers. Of this number twelve thousand, we are informed, live in the free States, and five thousand in the slave States. Among the free States New York furnished the largest number of subscribers, Massachusetts comes next on the list, and Pennsylvania third. Of the slave States Louisiana contributed the greatest number.

The publishers, Messrs. D. Appleton & Company, have invested $415,000 in this great literary venture. The amount paid to contributors and for making the stereotype plates, up to December 12th, was $143,700. The other expenses, on 217,550 volumes printed, of the first fifteen volumes, were: for paper, $111,500; printing, $17,500; binding, $110,000; advertising, circulars, etc., $20,000. Add to this the cost of paper, printing and binding 10,000 copies of volume sixteen, $10,500, and an item denominated "sundries," $1,800, and we have a grand total of $415,000.

Of the literary execution of the work, we who have occasion to refer to it daily can speak with satisfaction. *The New American Cyclopædia* is correct, full in its information, conveniently arranged for ready reference; the articles are concise and yet complete; and the work, continued and finished, as it has been, in the midst of a great civil war, is an honorable example of American thoroughness and enterprise. We believe it is the intention of the editors and publishers to issue a supplementary volume, in which any subjects which have claimed treatment since the commencement of the work may have justice done to them; and the issue of an annual volume, a register of important events, which was begun by Messrs. Appleton last year, will thereafter answer the purpose of a supplement for those who want it.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

From The Commonwealth.

IN the midst of the Jubilee Concert at the Music Hall on New Year's Day, some person called for three cheers for the man whose name stands as the pioneer of the movement for the abolition of slavery in this country. The cheers were given right heartily by the larger portion of the audience, whilst there were one or two hisses.

The incident is one of those which incline men to believe in special providences, whilst they confirm all in their ideas of the essential justice which History inevitably deals out to all. It was a strictly representative incident. In any meeting met to sing pæans over the liberation of three million of slaves the name of Garrison could scarcely fail to make the majority of hearts beat quicker with enthusiasm; whilst so long as there are nearly a million yet enslaved there will be found the same proportion in this community ready to cast his name out as evil. The mixed crowd in this city where no hiss for Garrison could be heard, would imply that there was no slave in the nation; for as long as there are black slaves in the South, there will be some white slaves in the North.

Forty years ago a young man appeared in Boston, to impress upon this community the wrongs of the slave. The Christian Church cast him out, and he could only utter the real Christianity of to-day in the Infidel's Hall. Church and State—Herod and Pilate—united against him; but he said, "I will not equivocate. I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard"; and heard he was, as writhing Oppression has reason to know.

On New Year's Day the nation saw the flower of his life—flower whose fruit he may live to see ripen in the Sun of Freedom. His motto was, "No Union with Slaveholders." On that day the government declared that further union with slaveholders was impossible. Though Mr. Garrison anticipated a geographical division between the North and the South, yet the principle for which he was contending was irrespective of anything sectional—it was to free Civilization from all complicity with Barbarism. That alone was the disunion he sought, and that disunion be accomplished. Every defeat, every victory, is, thank God, a blow on the wedge which forever separates this nation from human bondage. Between the two societies are now 500,000 graves, over which Slavery and Liberty will never join hands.

But the venerable pioneer is to be granted, we trust, a vaster boon than he had hoped. There is now a high hope that instead of eighteen States separated from slavery, there are to be thirty-four so separated. This war is also so deepening and widening the chasm between the two principles, and so filling it with blood, that it will not be an imaginary equator-line, nor a line of red tape, but an impassable gulf. He who attempts to bridge it will only sink to its bottom, as some weak generals have already sunk, and some diplomatic secretaries soon will!

May God bless William Lloyd Garrison! and may he see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied!

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